

# Greek Vases

In The J. Paul Getty Museum



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# Greek Vases

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In The J. Paul Getty Museum

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Greek Vases 3/1986

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# Etrusko-korinthische Vasen in Malibu

János Gy. Szilágyi

Schon vor einem Jahrhundert waren sich die Erforscher der antiken Keramik der Tatsache bewußt, daß die aus Korinth, dem größten Export-Zentrum griechischer bemalter Tonvasen im 7. Jh. v. Chr., auch nach Etrurien massenweise transportierten Gefäße an Ort und Stelle in lokalen Werkstätten nachgeahmt wurden. Kriterien für die genaue Unterscheidung griechischer Produkte und ihrer etruskischen Nachahmungen zu finden, schien aus praktischen wie aus wissenschaftlichen Gründen wichtig. Um 1880 begannen zwei einheimische Meister in Tarquinia die in den antiken Gräbern gefundenen korinthischen sowie andere griechische Vasen nachzuahmen.<sup>1</sup> Dies geschah ursprünglich in ehrlicher Absicht: ab und zu war auch ihre Signatur auf den Vasen zu lesen. Später aber verschwanden die Signaturen, und es wurde typisch für die Unsicherheit, die in der Beurteilung der Echtheit korinthischer Vasen herrschte, daß man diejenigen, die nicht ohne weiteres als korinthisch klassifizierbar waren, für etruskische Nachahmungen erklärte. Damit öffnete sich ein weites Feld für Fälscher, und ohne die genaue Kenntnis der Eigenschaften der etrusko-korinthischen Vasen läßt sich nicht vermeiden, daß man einfache Fälschungen korinthischer Vasen für etrusko-korinthische Originale hält, als solche für Privatsammlungen oder Museen ankauft, und sie manchmal sogar in wissenschaftlichen Handbüchern reproduziert.<sup>2</sup>

Die Erforschung der etrusko-korinthischen Vasenmalerei hat aber auch eine andere, weniger praktische Bedeutung. Man hat längst den Quellenwert dieses Materials für die Kunstgeschichte der Etrusker und für die Handelsgeschichte des ganzen Mittelmeeres im 7.–6. Jh. v. Chr. erkannt.<sup>3</sup> Für Forschungen solcher Art war aber nicht genug, zwischen antiken Originalen und modernen Fälschungen, zwischen korinthischen Vorbildern und ihren etruskischen Nachahmungen zu unterscheiden: man sah sich gezwungen, den Versuch zu unternehmen, mit

archäologischen und kunstgeschichtlichen Methoden einzelne Produktionszentren, Werkstätten, Schulen und Meisterhände zu isolieren, um die Chronologie und die Stilgeschichte der etrusko-korinthischen Keramik rekonstruieren zu können: "a task which would be big and not very attractive, but one which it is to be hoped will be accomplished by degrees"—wie es 1960 ein hervorragender englischer Etruskologe ausdrückte.<sup>4</sup>

Der Import von korinthischen bemalten Vasen in Etrurien geht auf das 8. Jh., das Jahrhundert der Geburt der eigentlichen etruskischen Kultur, zurück. Spätestens um 700 gab es einheimische Nachahmungen dieser Gefäße, die aber in der protokorinthischen Periode, d. h. bis um 625, überwiegend mit einfachen ornamentalen Motiven verziert waren und einstweilen für eine kunstgeschichtliche Klassifizierung wenige Anhaltspunkte bieten. In dieser Periode hat die etruskische Keramik—ebenso wie andere Bereiche der etruskischen Kultur—verschiedene Einflüsse der orientalischen sowie der großen griechischen Kunstzentren aufgenommen und mit italischen Traditionen verschmolzen. Im letzten Viertel des 7. Jhs. verändert sich dieses Bild ganz radikal und unerwartet: in der etruskischen figuralen Vasenmalerei wird für etwa drei Generationen das Korinthisieren, die Nachahmung korinthischer Vorbilder, vorherrschend. Die Ursachen dieses Phänomens können wir nicht genau angeben, es hat aber zur Ausbildung einer etrusko-korinthischen figuralen Vasenmalerei geführt, deren Geschichte und Bedeutung uns in großen Zügen bekannt ist.<sup>5</sup> Einige der wichtigsten Momente dieser Geschichte können auch durch die Vasen des Getty Museums beleuchtet werden.

Am Anfang der etrusko-korinthischen figuralen Produktion stehen noch zwei Techniken als gleichberechtigt nebeneinander: die polychrome und die schwarzfigurige. Gegen 625–620 erscheinen, ungefähr gleichzeitig in beiden

1. D. A. Amyx, *CalifStClAnt* 1 (1968), 14, Anm. 3, 27–28; D. v. Bothmer, *CalifStClAnt* 3 (1970), 42.

2. Z. B., A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung der klassischen Antike. Handbuch der Archäologie*, Bd. 4 (München, 1953), Taf. 14,2; A. Hus, *Les siècles d'or de l'histoire étrusque* (Brüssel, 1976), Taf. 45,b.

3. A. Blakeway, *JRS* 25 (1935), 145.

4. W. L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion* (Oxford, 1960), 52.

5. Der erste, verdienstvolle Versuch einer vollständigen Klassifizie-

rung der etrusko-korinthischen figuralen Vasenmalerei von G. Kubler ("Some Etruscan Versions of Corinthian Ceramics," *Marsyas* 2 [1942], 1–15) ist leider unbeachtet geblieben. Vgl. zuletzt J. G. Szilágyi, "Entwurf der Geschichte der etrusko-korinthischen figürlichen Vasenmalerei," in *Römische Frühgeschichte*, von A. Alföldi (Heidelberg, 1976); J. G. Szilágyi, *Etrusko-korinthosi vazafestészet* [Etrusko-korinthische Vasenmalerei] (Budapest, 1975), ungarisch.



Abb. 1a. Etrusco-korinthische Olpe. Seitenansicht. H: 29 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.393.



Abb. 1b. Vorderansicht der Olpe, Abb. 1a.

Techniken, die ersten Vertreter des ausgeprägten Korinthisierens: der Castellani-Maler und der Maler der bärtigen Sphingen. Der erstere hat Vasen, die ausschließlich korinthische Formen aufweisen—überwiegend kleine Aryballoi—mit eingeritzten Zeichnungen und aufgesetzten Farben verziert. Er hat in einer einstweilen nicht näher lokalisierbaren Werkstatt Südetruriens im letzten Viertel des 7. Jhs. gearbeitet, scheint aber keine große Wirkung auf die zeitgenössischen Meister ausgeübt zu haben. Ganz anders verhält es sich mit dem Maler der bärtigen Sphingen.<sup>6</sup> Anhand seiner über hundert bekannten Werke läßt sich nicht nur sein persönlicher und künstlerischer Lebenslauf,

sondern auch die ganze Frühperiode der etrusko-korinthischen Vasenmalerei rekonstruieren. Dieser bedeutende und äußerst produktive Künstler hat, nach unserem heutigen Wissen, gegen 625 in Vulci seine ersten Vasen mit schwarzfigurigen Tierfriesen dekoriert. Trotz des vorherrschenden Einflusses der korinthischen Vasenmalerei der spätprotokorinthischen und der sogenannten Übergangsperiode (um 640–620) weisen diese Vasen auch ostgriechische und einheimische Züge auf. Nichtsdestoweniger spiegelt sich in seinen Werken eine unverkennbar originelle Stil- und Formenwelt wider, besonders in seiner frühen Glanzperiode (gegen 625–605). Die Besucher des Getty

6. Über die künstlerische Laufbahn des Malers der bärtigen Sphingen zusammenfassend, s. Szilágyi, in *La civiltà arcaica di Vulci. Atti del X Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici* (Florenz, 1977), 51–54; für ein Verzeichnis seiner Werke, s. Szilágyi, *Etrusco-korinthisch* (oben, Anm. 5), 31–38.

7. D. A. Amyx, in *Studi in onore di L. Banti* (Rom, 1965), 2 und Taf. 4,a–b; Marion True and Jiří Frel, *Greek Vases. The Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection*, The J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, 1983), 83, Nr. 197 (86.AE.393). Außer dieser Vase befinden sich nur zwei Olpenfragmente an der Westküste, beide im Lowie Museum in Berkeley und beide

aus Blera (Inv. Nr. 8–5759 und 8–5764). Ich kenne nur zwei weitere Werke des Malers in Museen der Vereinigten Staaten: aus seiner frühen Periode eine Olpe in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts 13.71; A. Fairbanks, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, vol. 1 [Cambridge, Mass., 1928], Nr. 494, Taf. 48); und aus seiner mittleren Periode eine Oinochoe in Philadelphia aus Pitigliano, in der Nähe von Vulci (University Museum MS 642; E. H. Dohan, *Italic Tomb-Groups in the University Museum* [Philadelphia, 1942], Taf. 51,5).

8. Es gibt noch acht weitere Exemplare in den Vereinigten Staaten: zwei in Washington, D.C. (The National Museum of Natural History



Abb. 1c. Seitenansicht der Olpe, Abb. 1a.

Museums können eine Olpe—die Lieblingsform des Malers in dieser Periode—bewundern (Abb. 1a–c). Die Vase wurde vor etwa zwei Jahrzehnten von Professor D. A. Amyx veröffentlicht und dem Maler zugewiesen.<sup>7</sup>

Der Maler der bärtigen Sphingen hat mit seiner Tätigkeit erreicht, daß der damals einsetzende korinthisierende Geschmack in der etruskischen figuralen Vasenmalerei für etwa drei Generationen vorherrschend wurde, und daß der Vorrang in dieser Produktion dem im letzten Viertel des 7. Jhs. neu aufblühenden Vulci zukam. Sein persönlicher Weg war aber nicht so erfolgreich. Gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts kamen neue Tendenzen in der Kunst Vulcis auf; die Welt

der protokorinthisierenden Tierfriese des Malers der bärtigen Sphingen war altmodisch geworden. Seine Versuche mit neuen Vasenformen, Maltechniken und Malweisen, die seine mittlere Periode gegen die Jahrhundertwende bezeichnen, wurden zum Teil von der neuen Generation aufgenommen und weitergeführt, er selbst aber wurde wohl beiseite geschoben und hat sich schließlich entschlossen, nach Caere, dem anderen großen Zentrum Südetruriens, umzusiedeln.

In Caere hat die etrusko-korinthische Vasenmalerei etwas später eingesetzt als in Vulci und hat sich scheinbar auf eine einzige Werkstatt beschränkt, wo überwiegend große Vorratsamphoren geformt und verziert wurden. Sie werden Schuppenamphoren (italienisch: *anforni squamati*) genannt, da die ganzen Gefäßkörper, außer den ein bis drei Tierfriesen, mit eingeritzten Schuppen bedeckt sind. Aus dieser Werkstatt sind zur Zeit 125 Amphoren und sechs Gefäße verschiedener anderer Formen mit figuraler Verzierung bekannt. Eine dieser Amphoren ist aus dem Kunsthandel ins J. Paul Getty Museum gelangt.<sup>8</sup>

Das Gefäß, das hier zum ersten Mal gezeigt wird (Abb. 2a–f)<sup>9</sup> ist 59,5 cm hoch und vollständig erhalten. Das System der Bemalung ist das übliche: Die Mündung, der Hals und die Henkel sind mit dunkelbraunem Firnis überzogen; die Schulterzone und der größere untere Teil des Körpers sind mit den eponymen Schuppen bedeckt. Sie haben eingeritzte doppelte Konturen, die mit einem Zirkel gezogen sind; die Zirkelspitze hat in der Mitte der Schuppen ihre Spur hinterlassen. Inmitten jeder Schuppe ist ein abwechselnd mit roter und gelber Deckfarbe gemalter Fleck zu erkennen. Das untere Schuppenfeld ist durch eine dünne, ausgesparte Linie geteilt. Die Körperornamentik wird unten durch ein sich auf dem konischen Fuß fortsetzendes, eingeritztes Zungenmuster abgeschlossen; jede zweite Zunge ist mit roter Deckfarbe bemalt. Unter der Schulterzone, an der größten Ausdehnung des Gefäßkörpers, läuft ein von zwei Flechtbändern<sup>10</sup> gerahmter rechtsläufiger Tierfries herum. Es handelt sich überwiegend um die gewöhnlichen Teilnehmer solcher Prozessionen: Löwen, Panther, Hirsch, Hindin (?), Eber, Hasen. Die Hauptansicht der Vase wird in der Mitte der einen Seite zwischen zwei Hasen und der Hindin durch eine

391982–3), zwei in Santa Monica (Privatsammlung), und je eins in Bloomington (Indiana University Art Museum 73.59.2; W. G. Moon, *Greek Vase Painting in Midwestern Collections* [Chicago, 1979], 10–11); Boston (Museum of Fine Arts, Leihgabe L-37-1970; *Hesperia Art, Bulletin* 47 [1969], A.22); Kansas City (Nelson Gallery of Art, Atkins Museum of Fine Arts 47–43, from Cerveteri; William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, *Handbook of the Collection*, 4th ed. [1959], 270); und South Hadley, Mass. (Privatsammlung; Szilágyi, in *La civiltà arcaica di Vulci*, oben, Anm. 6, Taf. 16,b–c).

9. Inv. Nr. 71.AE.289. Für die bereitwillig erteilte Publikations-erlaubnis, für Fotos und weitere Auskünfte gilt mein herzlicher Dank Dr. Jiří Frel und der Direktion des J. Paul Getty Museums.

10. Die eingeritzten Konturlinien des Flechtbandes sind mit dem Zirkel gezeichnet; es gibt eine Spur der Zirkelspitze in der Mitte, die mit einem gelben Fleck bedeckt ist. Das Flechtband selbst ist mit roter Deckfarbe gekennzeichnet.



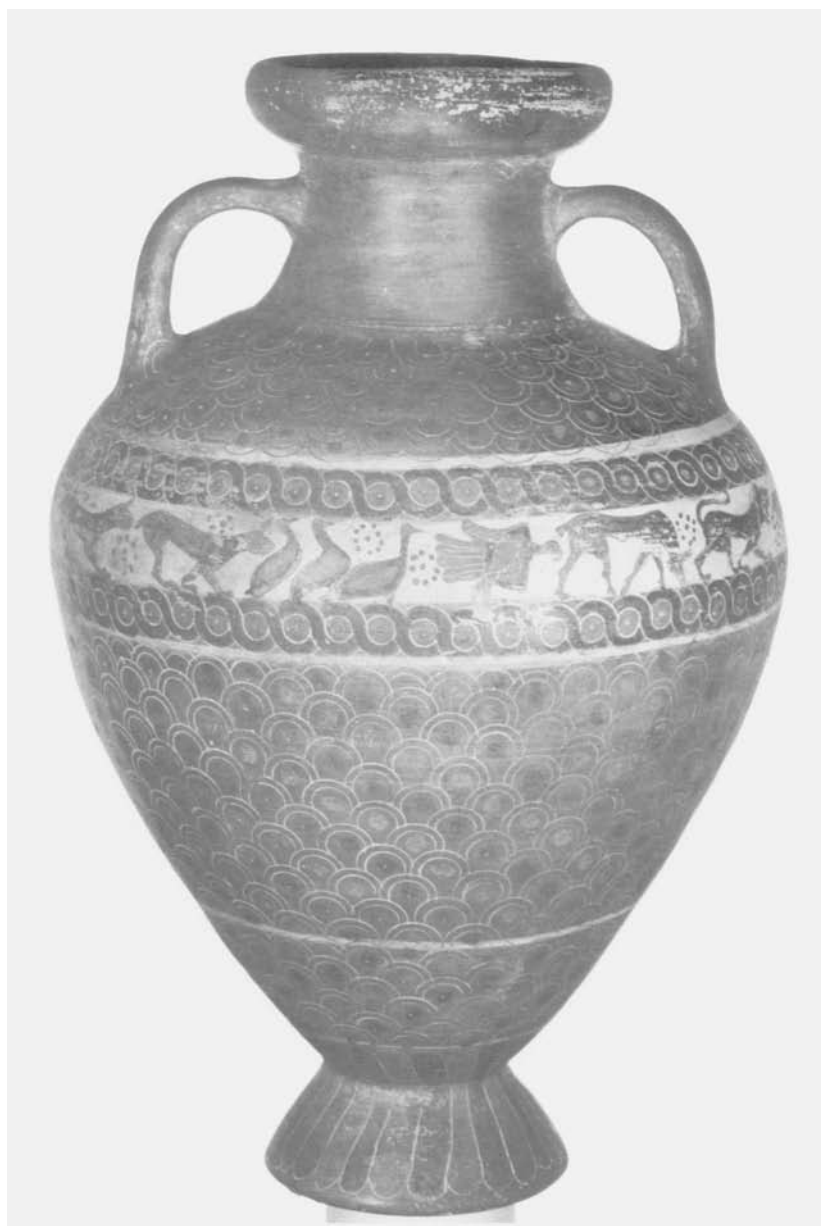


Abb. 2a. Etrusko-korinthische Amphora. H: 60,5 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AE.289.



Abb. 2b. Ausschnitt der Amphora, Abb. 2a.

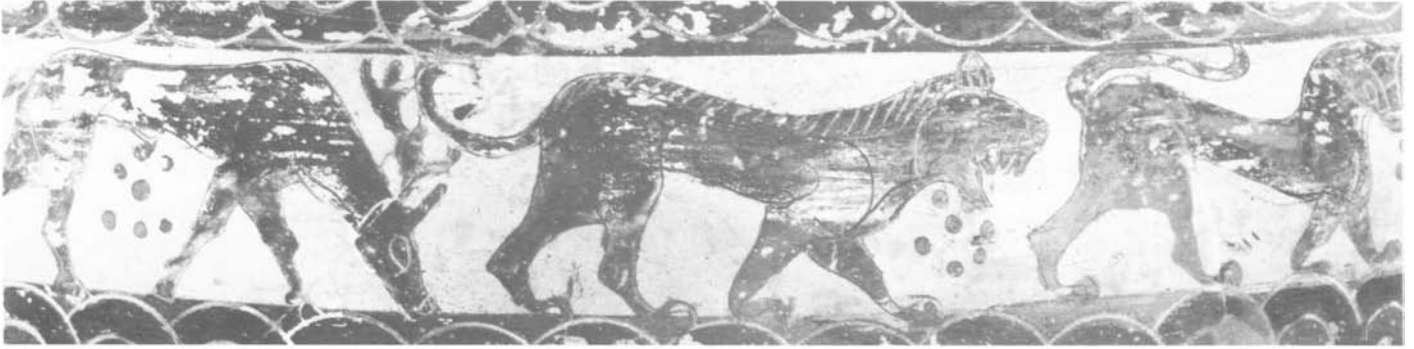


Abb. 2c. Ausschnitt der Amphora, Abb. 2a.



Abb. 2d. Ausschnitt der Amphora, Abb. 2a.

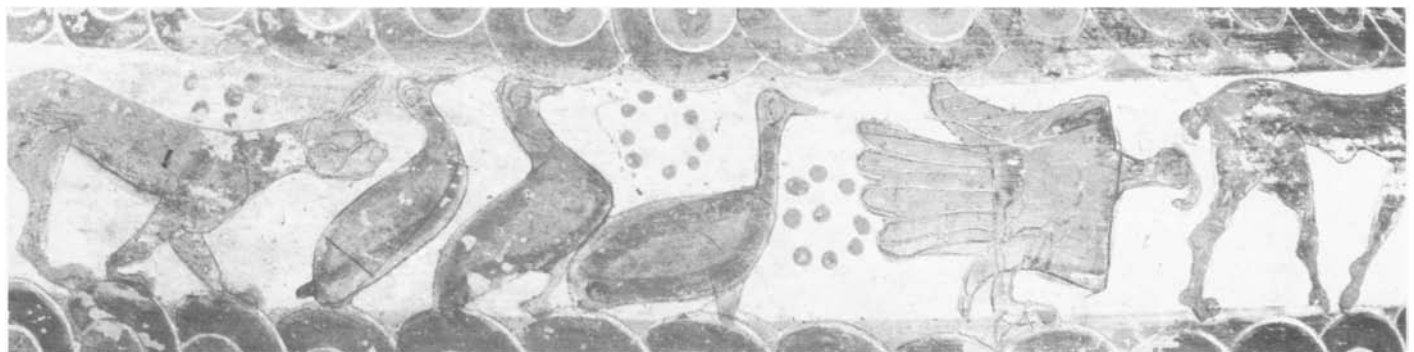


Abb. 2e. Ausschnitt der Amphora, Abb. 2a.



Abb. 2f. Ausschnitt der Amphora, Abb. 2a.



Abb. 3a-b. Etrusco-korinthische Oinochoe. Links: Vorderansicht; rechts: Rückansicht. H: 27,9 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.394.

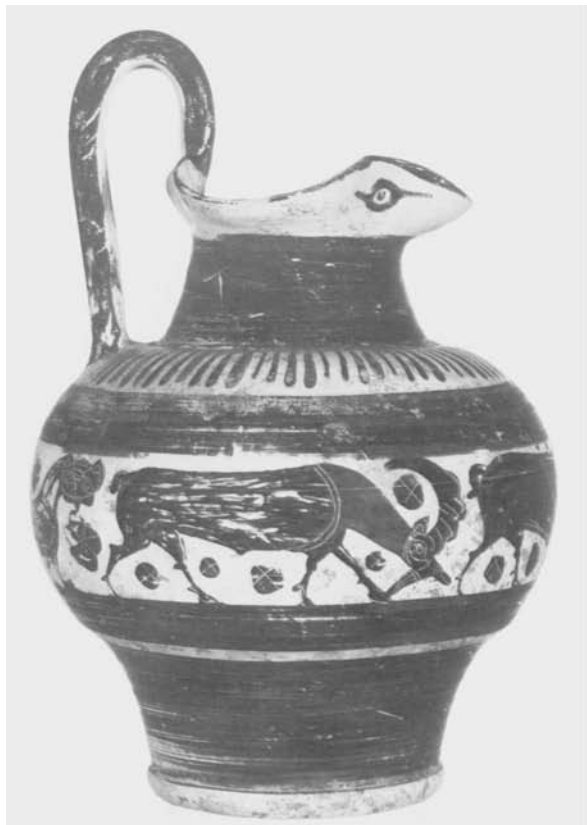


Abb. 3c. Seitenansicht der Oinochoe, Abb. 3a.

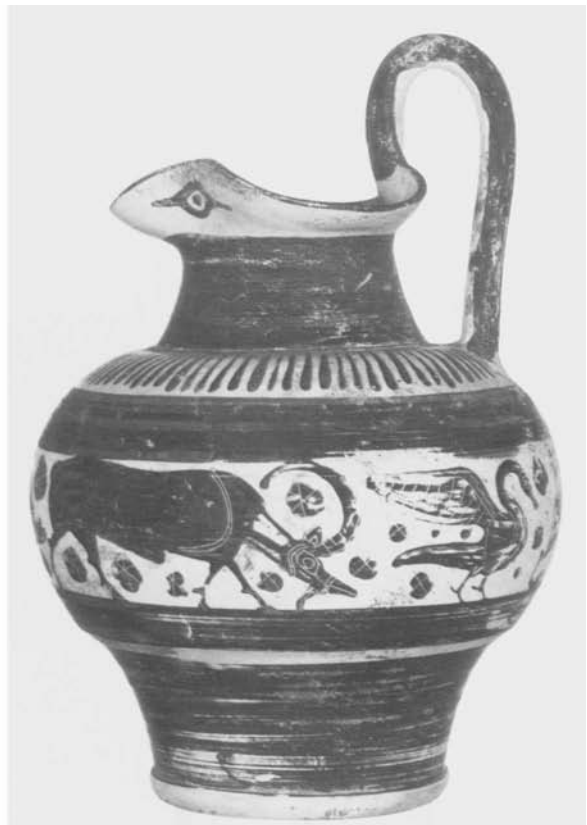


Abb. 3d. Seitenansicht der Oinochoe, Abb. 3a.

ungewöhnliche Gruppe von vier Vogelfiguren, wohl drei Wildenten und ein Geier, gekennzeichnet. Ein weiterer Vogel erscheint links von dieser Gruppe, zwischen den zwei Hasen und dem sie folgenden Panther. Als Füllornamente erscheinen ausschließlich Punktrossetten. Die eingeritzte Innenzeichnung der Tierfiguren wird durch aufgesetzte rote Bemalung bereichert (Innenkonturen auf den Vögeln, Kreuz auf dem Hinterschenkel der Vierfüßler, usw.).

Auf Grund der Grabfunde dürfte die Werkstatt der Schuppenamphoren etwa von 620/610 bis um 580 tätig gewesen sein. Will man innerhalb dieser Periode die relative Chronologie der einzelnen Vasen bestimmen, so bieten sich zwei Ausgangspunkte an: die Stilentwicklung der Tierfriese und die Wandlung der Vasenform. Was die erstere betrifft, konnte man auf den Friesen der Schuppenamphoren drei Stilgruppen unterscheiden (mit einigen Übergangserscheinungen): den Miniaturstil; einen Stil, für den langgestreckte Tierkörper bezeichnend sind (italienisch: *stile allungato*); und einen verwilderten Spätstil mit grob gezeichneten, kaum gegliederten, plumpen Tierfiguren (*stile pesante*).<sup>11</sup> Im Anschluß an diese stilgeschichtlichen Beobachtungen ist der unlängst allzu früh verstorbene holländische Archäologe Ronald Dik durch die Untersuchung der Formen der Schuppenamphoren zur Unterscheidung einer frühen, einer späten und einer dritten Gruppe gelangt, die er "Bearded Sphinx Amphorae" nannte.<sup>12</sup>

Das Wichtige ist, daß die Ergebnisse der Formanalyse im großen und ganzen mit denen der Stiluntersuchung übereinstimmen. Die frühesten Schuppenamphoren, deren charakteristische Züge "the slightly convex semiconical foot, pear-shaped or somewhat oval body, concave neck, echinus-mouth and vertical strap handles" sind (Dik, S. 30), wurden überwiegend mit Tierfriesen im Miniaturstil dekoriert. Gegen die Jahrhundertwende erscheint eine Weiterentwicklung dieser Form, die Friese im *stile allungato* trägt. Mit Recht wurden die Vasen dieser Gruppe von Dik "Bearded Sphinx Amphorae" genannt. Um die Zeit, als diese Formvariante aufkam, dürfte der Maler der bärtigen Sphingen aus Vulci nach Cerveteri übersiedelt sein, um dort in der einzigen etrusko-korinthischen Werkstatt der Stadt seine Tätigkeit fortzusetzen: etwa 20 von den

bekannten Amphoren dieser Formgruppe zeugen in ihren Tierfriesen von seiner Hand. Es ist gut erkennbar, welchen großen Einfluß sein Erscheinen auf die anderen Meister der mittleren Periode der Werkstatt, in den Jahrzehnten um die Jahrhundertwende ausübte. Die Gruppe der späten Schuppenamphoren wurde hingegen von Malern des "plumpen Stils" bemalt, und zwar meistens nicht mehr mit Tierfriesen, sondern nur mit je zwei Tierfiguren in der Schulterzone auf beiden Seiten der Vase.

Da ein bedeutender Teil der Schuppenamphoren in dem Villa Giulia Museum in Rom erst nach der Restaurierung, die jetzt endlich in Angriff genommen worden ist, näher untersucht werden kann, wäre es verfrüht, den Versuch zu unternehmen, die neue Amphora in Malibu innerhalb der Gruppe einer bestimmten Meisterhand zuzuweisen. Soviel steht aber nach den oben Gesagten fest, daß sie auf Grund ihrer Formeigenschaften sowie des Miniaturstils ihres von der spätprotokorinthischen Tradition beeinflussten Tierfrieses in die frühe Periode der Produktion der Schuppenamphoren gehört. Die doppelten Konturlinien der Schuppen und einige Züge des Tierfrieses, vor allem die Vogelfiguren, deuten auf die Endphase dieser Periode, gegen 610–600 v. Chr., hin.

Die Werkstatt der Schuppenamphoren dürfte nur zur Befriedigung lokalen Bedarfs gearbeitet haben; als sie ihre Tätigkeit gegen 580 aus unbekannten Gründen einstellte, brach die etrusko-korinthische Vasenproduktion in Caere ab. Anders in Vulci. Hier wurde das Werk des Malers der bärtigen Sphingen um die Jahrhundertwende von einer Reihe talentvoller und eigenständiger Meister fortgesetzt. Unter ihnen ragt besonders der Pescia Romana-Maler hervor, ein "zweisprachiger" Meister, der seine frühen Vasen mit polychromer Technik ausführte, später aber, gegen Anfang des 6. Jhs., ein fruchtbarer und wirkungsvoller Dekorator von schwarzfigurigen Gefäßen wurde.<sup>13</sup> Zu seinem engeren Kreis hat unter anderen auch der von Professor Amyx erkannte und benannte Volunteer-Maler gehört.<sup>14</sup> Von seinen insgesamt sechs bekannten Vasen ist eine Oinochoe mit den Lieblingsfiguren (Ziegen, Eber, Panther, Vogel) des Malers im Tierfries, ebenfalls im Getty Museum (Abb. 3a–d).<sup>15</sup> Sie wurde vor fünfzehn Jahren

11. Vgl. Szilágyi, in *La civiltà arcaica di Vulci*, oben, Anm. 6, 53.

12. Ronald Dik, in *Classical Antiquities in Utrecht 1*, Archaeologia Traiectina, 13 (Groningen, 1978), 30–37. Seine absoluten Datierungen sind etwas zu hoch gegriffen, da sie sich mitunter auf die ältesten Fundstücke der Gräber gründen.

13. Über den Pescia Romana-Maler s. Amyx, oben, Anm. 7, 9–10; Szilágyi, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock* 16 (1967), 549, und derselbe, in *Studies in Honour of D. A. Amyx*, im Druck. Vgl. die wichtigen Bemerkungen von M. Martelli, in *Prima Italia*, Katalog (Museo Pigorini, Rom, 1981), 104.

14. Oben, Anm. 7, 10–11. Der Maler hat seinen Namen vom Volunteer Park in Seattle erhalten, wo seine andere Oinochoe aufbewahrt

wird (Seattle Art Museum Cs.20.14; Amyx, oben, Anm. 7, Taf. III). Amyx selbst hat ihm noch eine weitere Oinochoe im schweizerischen Kunsthandel zugeschrieben (oben, Anm. 7, Taf. I,c–d), und G. Colonna schreibt ihm (brieflich) einen Teller aus Vulci zu (Vulci, Antiquario, 64234; G. Riccioni und M. T. Falconi Amorelli, *La Tomba della Panatenaica di Vulci* [Rom, 1968], 44, Nr. 27). Eine weitere Oinochoe von seiner Hand befand sich im amerikanischen Kunsthandel (J. M. Eisenberg, *Art of the Ancient World 2*, Katalog [New York, 1966], Nr. 2, mit Abbildung), und es gibt einen unveröffentlichten Teller des Malers in Edinburgh (Royal Scottish Museum 1956.456).

15. Inv. Nr. 86.AE.394. S. *Greek Vases. The Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection*, oben, Anm. 7, 83, Nr. 198.



Abb. 4a. Etrusko-korinthischer Teller. Obere Seite. Diam: 25,7 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AE.237.



Abb. 4b. Untere Seite des Tellers, Abb. 4a.



Abb. 4c. Seitenansicht des Tellers, Abb. 4a.



Abb. 4d. Ausschnitt des Tellers, Abb. 4a.

von Amyx beschrieben und dem Maler zugewiesen,<sup>16</sup> was hier eine ausführlichere Behandlung des Gefäßes überflüssig macht.

Der Übergang des Pescia Romana-Malers zur schwarzfigurigen Technik und zugleich die Tätigkeit einiger weiterer interessanter Malerpersönlichkeiten eröffnen die zweite Periode der etrusko-korinthischen Vasenmalerei (etwa 590–560). Diese Periode ist einerseits durch den absoluten Vorrang der Vulcenter Werkstätten, andererseits durch die sich schnell uniformisierende Massenproduktion gekennzeichnet. Unseres Wissens gibt es in dieser Periode außer Vulci nur eine einzige etruskische Stadt, in der etrusko-korinthische Vasen mit figürlicher Verzierung hergestellt wurden: Tarquinia, wo um 590–580 ganz unversehens eine neue Schule in Erscheinung trat.<sup>17</sup> Ihre Abhängigkeit von Vulci offenbart sich nicht nur in der Entlehnung von Vasenformen und Stilelementen, sondern

es läßt sich auch vermuten, daß die Begründer der Werkstatt—oder der Werkstätten—ihre Kunst in Vulci selbst erlernt haben. Jedenfalls ist die sekundäre Bedeutung der tarquiniensischen Werkstätten gegenüber Vulci in künstlerischer wie auch in kommerzieller Hinsicht unbestreitbar. Das gilt für alle drei Hauptgruppen der lokalen Schule, die sich ganz deutlich voneinander unterscheiden und den überwiegenden Teil der tarquiniensischen Produktion bilden. Es gibt doch einige Einzelgänger, die sich—in enger oder loser Verbindung mit einer der drei Hauptgruppen—durch bemerkenswert individuelle Züge auszeichnen, deren künstlerisches Profil aber mangels genügenden Beweismaterials nur langsam erkennbar wird. In diese Reihe gehört der Maler des Tellers, der unlängst für das Getty Museum erworben wurde und hier vorgelegt werden darf (Abb. 4a–d).<sup>18</sup>

Die Form ist nicht griechisch, sondern hat sich aus ein-

16. Amyx, oben, Anm. 7, 10, mit Taf. 1,a–b.

17. Zusammenfassend über die Schule von Tarquinia, s. Szilágyi,

StEtr 40 (1972), 19–73.

18. Inv. Nr. 71.AE.237; Durchmesser: 26 cm; Höhe: 6,2 cm.





Abb. 5. Etrusco-korinthische Olpe. Rückansicht. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC 1638.

heimischen Traditionen gegen Ende des 7. Jhs. in Vulci entwickelt. Sie erscheint mit figuraler Verzierung zum ersten Mal bei dem Pescia Romana-Maler<sup>19</sup> und wird fast unverändert eine der typischen Formen der etrusko-korinthischen Vasenmalerei in den Vulcenter Werkstätten. Ihre einfacheren, mit geometrischen Motiven verzierten Exemplare überleben sogar die orientalisierende Periode.<sup>20</sup> Auch die Vase in Malibu zeigt ihre geläufigen Züge: der flache Teller hat einen Ringfuß, unterhalb des Randes befindet sich eine Rille, in die sich die zwei eng anliegen-

den horizontalen Rundhenkel einfügen und in ihrer Mitte zwei diametral entgegengesetzte Ösen bilden. Das System der gemalten Dekoration ist ebenfalls das gewöhnliche: innen in der Mitte drei konzentrische Kreise, auf dem mittleren ein aufgesetzter, roter Streifen; der Tierfries wird von zwei roten Linien umrahmt. Im Fries fünf grasende Tiere: drei Ziegen, ein Hirsch und eine Hindin nach links. Füllornamente sind Fleckrosetten, meistens mit eingeritztem Kreuz. Die im Vergleich zu den gleichzeitigen Vulcenter Darstellungen plumpen Tiere verraten auf den ersten Blick, daß wir es mit einer provinziellen Werkstatt zu tun haben, deren Erzeugnisse meistens zur Befriedigung lokalen Bedarfs dienten; ihr Verbreitungsgebiet überschritt auch innerhalb Etruriens nur sehr selten die Grenzen des Territoriums der Stadt.<sup>21</sup>

Nicht anmutiger als die Tiergestalten sind die geritzten Innenzeichnungen und die purpurne Deckfarbe, die dazu dienen, dem hinteren Oberschenkel, dem Bug und der Brustpartie Volumen zu geben und zugleich die Muskeln anzudeuten. Diese Innenzeichnungen sind auch sonst ziemlich weit von der Naturwahrheit entfernt, aber ihre recht folgerichtig abstrakte Stilisierung hat hier besonders individuelle Züge, die es ermöglichen, den Tierfries einem der wenig bekannten tarquiniensischen Vasenmaler, dem Kithara-Maler, zuzuweisen. Früher beschränkte sich sein Oeuvre auf zwei Olpen, mit denen drei stilverwandte Teller verbunden wurden (Abb. 5, 6a–b).<sup>22</sup> Es genügt, nur die Hirsche im vierten Fries der Olpen in Rom und in Tarquinia mit dem Hirsch auf dem Teller in Malibu zu vergleichen, um sich davon zu überzeugen, daß alle drei Vasen derselben Hand entstammen. In Kenntnis des neuen Tellers kann aber dasselbe mit Sicherheit auch von einem unveröffentlichten Teller in Tarquinia (Inv. Nr. RC 8556) behauptet werden, der früher unter den stilverwandten Stücken stand. Sein linksläufiger Tierfries besteht aus vier grasenden Ziegen und einem Vogel; die Maße der Vase sind mit denen des Tellers in Malibu identisch.

Aus gutem Grunde wurde früher vermieden, den Teller in Tarquinia dem Maler der zwei Olpen zuzuweisen. Die Olpen ragen nämlich aus der Menge der Produkte der tarquiniensischen Schule weit hervor, und zwar nicht durch ihre künstlerischen Qualitäten, sondern durch die ikonographische Bedeutung ihrer Darstellungen. Menschenfiguren sind auf den etrusko-korinthischen Vasen der mittleren—ebenso wie der späten—Periode äußerst selten,

19. CVA, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1, Taf. 19, Nr. 1, 4, 6 und 8.

20. Eine systematische Untersuchung der Form steht noch aus. Dohan, oben, Anm. 7, 95–96, nahm an, daß die Anfänge der Form bis um die Mitte des 7. Jhs. zurückgegangen sein dürften. Sie gründete ihre frühe Datierung auf Gräber, in denen Teller dieser Form zusammen mit protokorinthischen oder frühkorinthischen Vasen zutage kamen; die letzteren sind aber wenigstens zum Teil etruskische Nachahmungen von

korinthischen Vorbildern (z.B., O. Montelius, *La Civilisation primitive en Italie* 2 [Stockholm, 1904], Taf. 209,3 und 21). Dohans Frühdatierung dieses Tellertypus wurde allgemein akzeptiert, auch in Fällen, in denen der Grabzusammenhang ganz eindeutig dagegen spricht (vgl. z.B. Riccioni und Falconi Amorelli, oben, Anm. 14, 43).

21. Umso bemerkenswerter ist es, daß drei tarquiniensische Teller des hier behandelten Typus in Karthago und das Fragment eines weiteren



Abb. 6a. Etrusko-korinthische Olpe. Seitenansicht. Rom, Museo di Villa Giulia 81799.

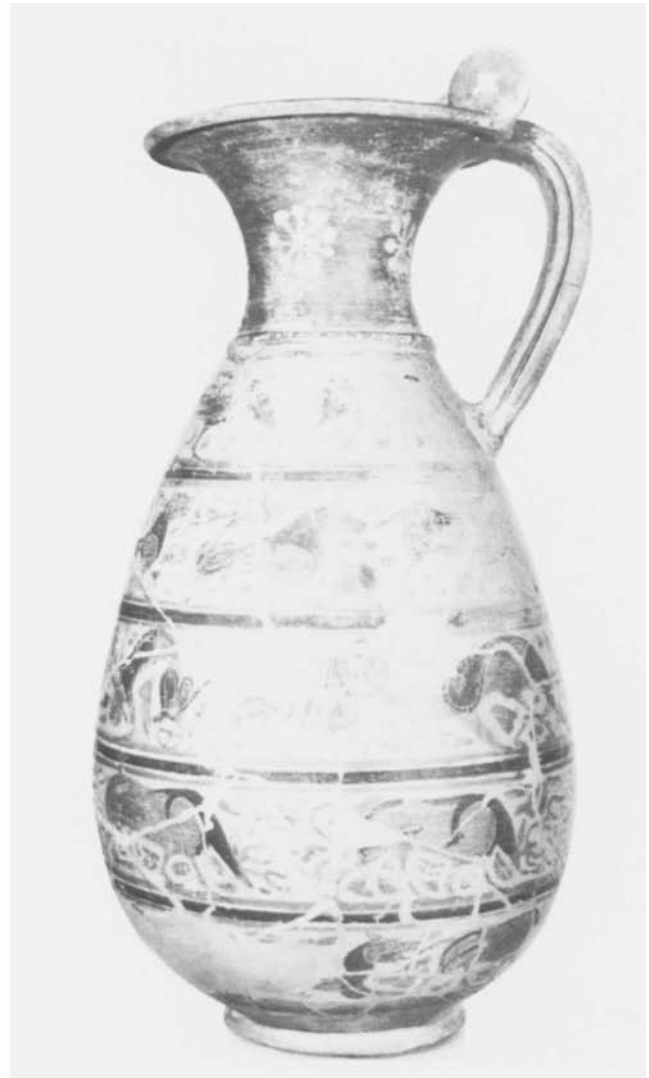


Abb. 6b. Seitenansicht der Olpe, Abb. 6a.

viel mehr noch ganze Szenen mit menschlichen Teilnehmern: die meisten Vasenbilder sind monotone Wiederholungen von einigen wenigen Tiertypen und heraldischen Schemen. Umso auffällender sind einige Gruppen auf den Olpen des Kithara-Malers. Beide Olpen sind aus vielen Scherben zusammengesetzt, mit erheblichen Ergänzungen besonders an der Olpe in Tarquinia. Ihrer ausführlichen Publikation soll hier nicht vorgegriffen werden. Wir beschränken uns darum auf die Reproduktion der beiden Gefäße<sup>23</sup> (Abb. 5, 6a–b). Unsere sehr unvollkommenen

Nachzeichnungen einiger Teile der Friesen, die hier für weitere Diskussion vorgelegt sind, können dazu helfen, das Werk des Malers um weitere Stücke zu bereichern (Abb. 6c–e, 7a–b). Im zweiten Fries der Olpe des Villa Giulia Museums erscheint ein Jäger im Knielauf mit einem Krummstab (*lagobolon*) in der erhobenen rechten Hand; mit der anderen packt er eine sitzende Sphinx am Schwanz (Abb. 6c). Im dritten Fries sieht man zwischen zwei grasenden Tieren einen bewaffneten Krieger, worauf eine zweifigurige Szene folgt: ein Fußkämpfer hat einen aus

Gefäßes in Saint Blaise bei Marseille zutage kamen. Vgl. Szilágyi, "Entwurf," oben, Anm. 5, 189. Neuerdings hat R. Zucca, in *Il commercio etrusco arcaico* (Rom, 1985), 267, Abb. 3, das Fragment eines in Sardinien gefundenen tarquiniensischen Tellers veröffentlicht.

22. Über den Maler, s. Szilágyi, oben, Anm. 17, 62–63.

23. Abb. 5 (= Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC 1638) nach Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Negat. 92420; Abb. 6, a–b (= Rom,

Museo di Villa Giulia 81799) dank der freundlichen Bemühungen von Maria Antonietta Rizzo nach Fotos der Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Etruria Meridionale, Negat. Nr. 90007–8. Alle drei dürfen hier dank der großzügigen Erlaubnis der Soprintendente, Professor Paola Pelagatti, veröffentlicht werden.





Abb. 6c. Zeichnung der Olpe, Abb. 6a.

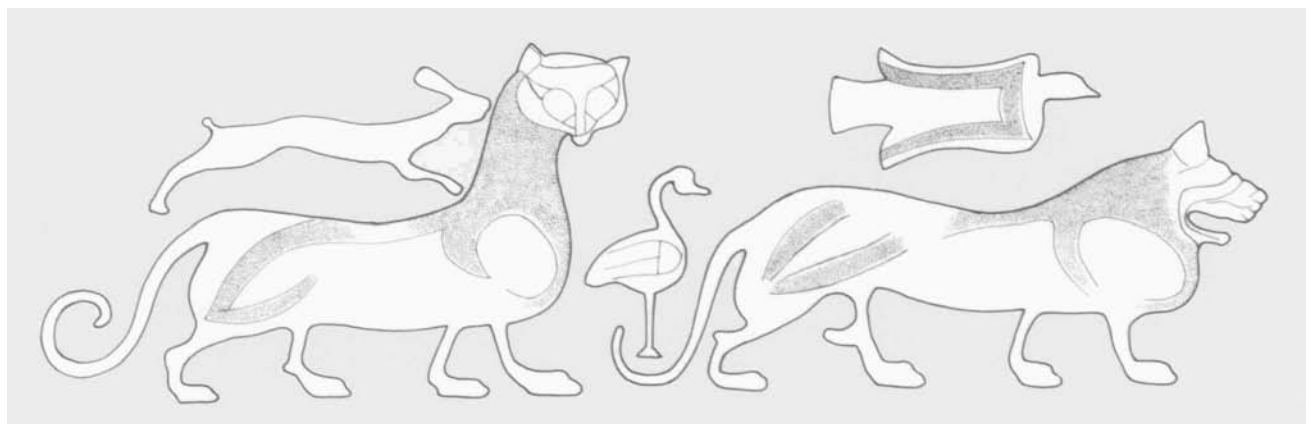


Abb. 6d. Zeichnung der Olpe, Abb. 6b.

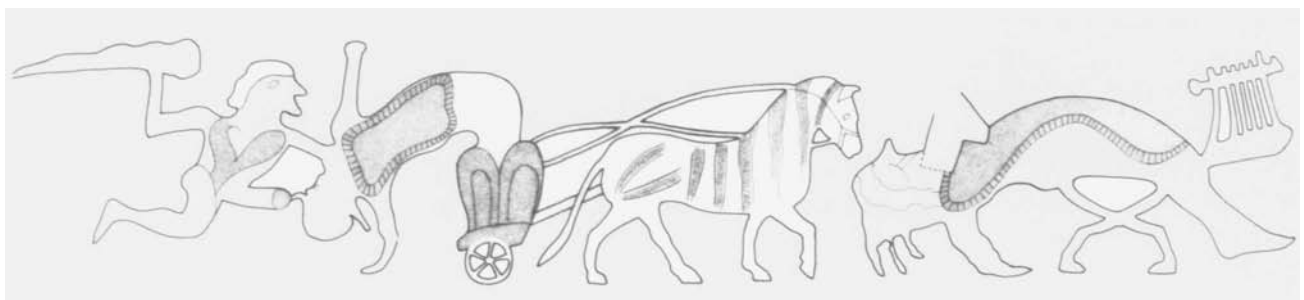


Abb. 6e. Zeichnung der Olpe, Abb. 6b.

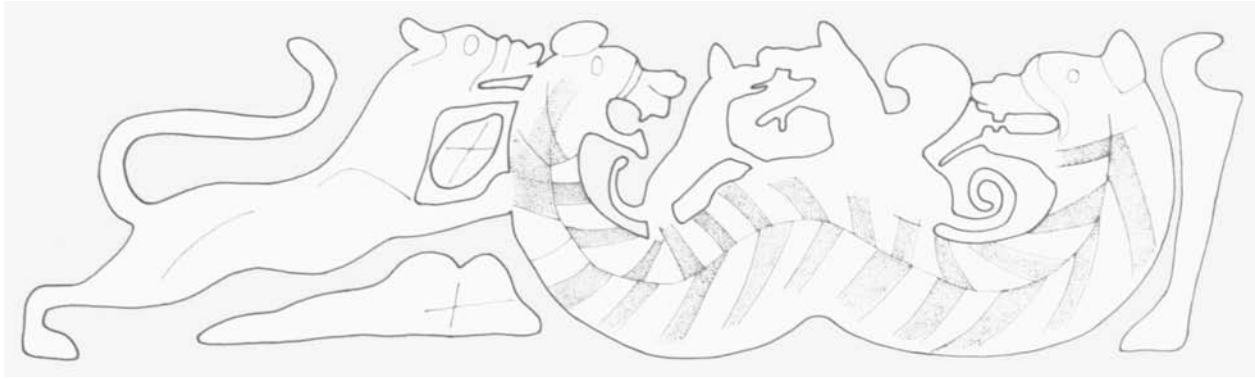


Abb. 7a. Zeichnung. Tarquinia RC 1638, Abb. 5.

seinem Zweiradwagen zurücksinkenden Mann angegriffen und ist im Begriff, ihm mit dem Schwert (?) in seiner erhobenen Rechten den Todesstoß zu versetzen. Vor dem Einzelpferd des Gespannes liegt auf einem Klappstuhl eine riesengroße, offenbar tote Gestalt; bei seinem Knie ist ein der griechischen Kithara ähnlicher Gegenstand, der dem Maler seinen Namen gegeben hat (Abb. 6e). Weiter rechts ist eine Gruppe von Tieren (Abb. 6d): ein Panther mit einem Hasen auf dem Rücken und ein Löwe; über dem Schwanz des Löwen steht ein Vogel, und über seinem Rücken fliegt ein anderer.

Die Olpe in Tarquinia zeigt nur in ihrem dritten Fries menschliche Gestalten: einen auf einem Klappstuhl sitzenden Mann (?), an dessen Fuß ein Tierchen, vielleicht eine Maus, hinaufklettert, und vor ihm eine stark beschädigte Darstellung mit einer Menschenfigur. Umso reicher sind die Friese an verschiedenen, mitunter ganz ungewöhnlichen Tiergestalten: Seemonster, Schreckgestalten, usw. Hier sei nur ein Ausschnitt aus dem vierten Fries gezeigt (Abb. 7a) mit einem Kampf von realen und phantastischen Gestalten, deren Körper miteinander verwachsen sind. Es ist kaum zu entscheiden, um wieviele Schreckwesen es sich überhaupt handelt. Unmittelbar vor dieser Szene steht im Bildfeld ein isolierter, der "Kithara" der anderen Olpe ähnlicher Gegenstand, der aber hier viel weiter von dem griechischen Musikinstrument entfernt ist als dort (Abb. 7b).

In Kenntnis der Arbeitsweise und der künstlerischen Stellung der antiken Vasenmaler ist es—vornehmlich in Etrurien—nicht besonders auffallend, daß ein Maler Vasenbilder mit so unterschiedlichem Inhalt fertigte wie der Meister der zwei Olpen und der zwei Teller. Es ist hier



Abb. 7b. Zeichnung. Tarquinia RC 1638, Abb. 5.

nicht der Ort für eine ausführliche Untersuchung der Darstellungen. Einige Probleme bieten sich aber schon bei der ersten Betrachtung der Bilder zum Weiterdenken an. Das erste bezieht sich auf die etruskische Mythologie.

In den letzten Jahrzehnten wurde viel darüber diskutiert, inwieweit bei den etruskischen Meistern archaischer Zeit eine Kenntnis der griechischen Mythologie angenommen werden kann.<sup>24</sup> Ein Teil der Forscher ist geneigt, die vermutlich mythischen Darstellungen in der etruskischen Kunst, die in der griechischen Überlieferung nicht bezeugt sind, als Zeugen gründlicher Kenntnisse von uns verlorenen griechischen Mythenfassungen seitens der etruskischen Künstler zu betrachten.<sup>25</sup> Grundsätzlich kann man natürlich diese Möglichkeit nicht ausschließen, auch wenn eine solche Annahme wenig für sich hat.<sup>26</sup> Viel überzeugender erscheint aber auch die polare Gegenthese nicht, nach der es sich in der archaischen Kunst der Etrusker meistens (oder wenigstens oft) um mißverständene, sogar sinnlose

24. Die Literatur über die Diskussion etwa bei R. Hampe und E. Simon, *JbZMusMainz* 14 (1967), 79–82; T. Dohrn, *RömMitt* 73–74 (1966/1967), 15–16; K. Schauenburg, in *Stele N. Kontoleon* (Athen, 1980), 101, Anm. 53; vgl. auch G. Colonna, in "Pyrgi," *NSe* 24 (1970), II supplemento, 62.

25. Vor allem R. Hampe und E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1964) und ihre Schule.

26. S. etwa J. Boardman, *JHS* 85 (1965), 241; J. Heurgon, *Gnomon* 37 (1965), 838.

Wiedergaben oder um eine rein optische Übernahme griechischer Mythen oder griechischer ikonographischer Schemen handelt.<sup>27</sup> In einem Punkt sind sich jedoch die Verfechter von beiden Thesen einig: nämlich daß es sich bei diesen etruskischen Darstellungen um—sinnvolle oder sinnlose—Wiedergaben *griechischer* Mythen handelt.

Eine Deutung aus der etruskischen Mythologie wurde in den letzten Jahrzehnten kaum versucht.<sup>28</sup> Es wurde den Etruskern mitunter sogar die nötige Phantasie abgesprochen, „um sich selbst einen Mythos zu schaffen.“<sup>29</sup> Auf die religionsgeschichtlichen Schwierigkeiten einer solchen Auffassung sowie auf die Gegenargumente, die sich aus der dürftigen epigraphischen und der überwiegend späten literarischen Tradition ergeben, soll hier nicht eingegangen werden. Für uns steht fest, daß die Denkweise der Etrusker am Anfang ihrer Geschichte im wesentlichen mythisch war und daß sie auch eine eigene Mythologie haben mußten, deren anfängliche epische Formen und Stoffe uns freilich mangels genügenden frühen schriftlichen Beweismaterials meistens unbekannt oder bestenfalls verschwommen sind. Andererseits kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß die unmittelbare Berührung mit der griechischen Kultur seit dem 8. Jh. auch auf diesem Gebiet tiefgreifende Folgen hatte, und zwar in zweifacher Weise: zum einen die Aneignung der epischen Stoffe der griechischen Mythologie, zum anderen den Zwang, auch die einheimische Mythologie in Wort und Bild nach griechischer Art darzustellen.

Die unleugbaren Zeugnisse der Verbreitung der griechischen Mythen in Etrurien sprechen nicht gegen die Existenz einer etruskischen Mythologie. Die Vermutung liegt aber nahe, daß die epischen Formen der—meistens wohl mündlichen—etruskischen Mythenerzählungen in ihrer neuen (oder in einigen Fällen in ihrer ersten) Ausprägung stark von der Ausdrucksweise der griechischen Mythologie beeinflußt worden sein dürften. Ähnlich müssen wir uns auch das Verhältnis der bildlichen Fassungen etruskischer Mythen zu ihren griechischen Bildvorlagen vorstellen. Viele von diesen wurden scheinbar einfach übernommen oder nachgeahmt. Doch darf man hier die grundsätzliche Mehrdeutigkeit der Sagenmotive, noch mehr aber diejenige der ikonographischen Motive nicht

außer Acht lassen. Dadurch wird die Berechtigung einer rein griechischen Deutung auch in solchen Fällen in Frage gestellt, in denen die etruskische Darstellung der griechischen Version genau entspricht. Viel mehr noch in Fällen, bei denen wir mehr oder weniger bedeutende Abweichungen feststellen können. Sie müssen bei weitem nicht unbedingt und in jedem Fall die Unkenntnis des etruskischen Meisters oder seine Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber dem Inhalt der Darstellung widerspiegeln. Es sollte immer sorgfältig erwogen werden, ob den Abweichungen nicht eine Bedeutung zukommt, ob es sich nicht um eine *interpretatio Etrusca* des dargestellten griechischen Mythos<sup>30</sup> oder sogar um die Wiedergabe eines etruskischen Mythos in griechischem Kostüm handelt. Völlig berechtigt scheint der Versuch einer solchen Deutung in Fällen, bei denen ein bedeutungsvoll scheinendes etruskisches Bildmotiv überhaupt keine griechischen Vorbilder hat. Die mythische Interpretation solcher Bildmotive soll jedoch gar nicht verabsolutiert werden und die mythologische noch weniger.

Kehrt man mit solchen Gedanken zu den Bildern des Kithara-Malers zurück, so mag einerseits nicht verkannt werden, daß die auffallenden, einzigartigen ikonographischen Motive inmitten der geläufigen Tiergestalten der etrusko-korinthischen Friese erscheinen. Ihre in gewissem Maße dekorative oder bestenfalls nur allgemeinmythische Bedeutung ist nicht zu leugnen. Andererseits dürfen wir annehmen, daß die ungewöhnlichen Szenen der beiden Olpen nicht reine Phantasiespiele oder gehaltlose Improvisationen sind—auch die sehr mittelmäßige Qualität der Ausführung spricht eher dagegen—sondern wenigstens teilweise auf Geschichten und Gestalten der etruskischen Mythologie hindeuten, die freilich nicht ohne Benützung des griechischen ikonographischen Typenschatzes ihre bildliche Formulierung erhielten. Prinzipiell ist die Möglichkeit nicht von der Hand zu weisen, daß die Mischwesen der tarquiniensischen Olpe (Abb. 7a), der sitzende Mann im dritten Fries desselben Gefäßes (mit dem Mäuschen, einem typisch etruskischen Episodist figuraler Darstellungen<sup>31</sup>) oder der Sphingenjäger der anderen Olpe (Abb. 6c) die zeitgenössischen etruskischen Betrachter der Vasen an bekannte Personen und Episoden ihrer Mytho-

27. Vgl. L. Banti, *StEtr* 24 (1955/56), 150 mit Anm. 19, und danach besonders die Aufsätze von G. Camporeale und T. Dohrn.

28. Eine der wenigen, bedeutenden Ausnahmen ist das Buch von A. Alföldi, *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates* (Heidelberg, 1974) mit seinen zum Teil äußerst problematischen, aber nichtdestoweniger anregenden Gesichtspunkten und Ausführungen. S. unter anderen auch noch E. Simon *JdI* 88 (1973), 37–42; E. Hill Richardson, *JWalt* 37 (1977), 91–101, weiterhin unten, Anm. 30.

29. Dohrn, oben, Anm. 24, 26.

30. Wie das auch in der neueren Literatur oft erwogen und anerkannt wird. Vgl. unter anderen M. Schmidt, *ZAeS* 97 (1971), 122–125; I. Krauskopf, *Der thebanische Sagenkreis und andere griechische Sagen in der*

*etruskischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1974); J. P. Oleson, *AJA* 79 (1975), 189–200; H. Prayon, *RömMitt* 84 (1977), 181–196; derselbe, in *Die Aufnahme fremder Kultureinflüsse in Etrurien* (Mannheim, 1981), 107–109; J. Christiansen, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 13 (1984), 11 und Abb. 5 (zur Abb. 7a). Vgl. O. J. Brendel, *Etruscan Art* (Harmondsworth, 1978), 84, 442, Anm. 3.

31. Es genüge, nur auf die Fresken der Tomba delle Olimpiadi in Tarquinia hinzuweisen: M. Moretti, *Nuovi monumenti della pittura etrusca* (Mailand, 1966), 118.

32. J. Wiesner, „Fahren und Reiten,“ *ArchHom* 1, Kapitel F (Göttingen, 1968), 65; P. A. L. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare* (Cambridge, 1973), 34, 175, Anm. 25 (unter Berufung auf Bronson).



Abb. 8. "Pontisches" Lydion. Zeichnung. Tübingen, Archäologisches Institut 67.5809.

logie erinnerten. Und wer weiß, ob hinter den Darstellungen der Abbildung 6e nicht eine etruskische Version des Mythologems der göttlichen Zwillinge gegensätzlicher Natur, etwa des kriegerischen Zethos und des Sängers Amphion der griechischen Mythologie, steckt?

Es lohnt sich aber, einige Bilder des Kithara-Malers auch unabhängig von ihrem eventuellen Gehalt als reine Bildschemen zu untersuchen. Für das Gespann in Abbildung 6e gilt völlig, was im Zusammenhang mit griechisch geometrischen Vasenbildern beobachtet wurde: "Die Darstellung eines Einzelpferdes vor dem Wagen ist als formelhafte Wiedergabe eines Zweigespanns zu verstehen, ebenso wie die Angabe eines einzigen Wagenrades."<sup>32</sup> Das Pferd selbst hat unverkennbar korinthisierende Züge. Nur setzt der Paßgang mit abgewinkeltem Vorderbein in der korinthischen Vasenmalerei erst auf Pferdedarstellungen der mittelkorinthischen Periode ein,<sup>33</sup> was aber für die Olpe des Kithara-Malers keinen zwingenden Datierungswert hat, da der Paßgang der Pferde in der etruskischen

Kunst, wohl in Anlehnung an orientalische Vorbilder, viel früher, spätestens im letzten Viertel des 7. Jhs., erscheint.<sup>34</sup> Beachtenswert ist hingegen die Tatsache, daß nicht nur die Wagendarstellung, sondern auch die ganze Kampfszene die Fortsetzung einer Bildtradition ist, deren Anfänge mindestens in die griechisch spätgeometrische Vasenmalerei zurückreichen: dort erscheint auf einem attischen Krater zum ersten Mal in der griechischen Kunst das von dem Kithara-Maler wieder aufgegriffene Schema des Unterliegens eines Wagenfahrers gegenüber einem Fußkämpfer.<sup>35</sup>

Deutet dieser—gar nicht typische—Fall auf die griechisch geometrischen Wurzeln der Ikonographie der spät-orientalisierenden Bildkunst Etruriens hin, so sind uns freilich die Wege der Vermittlung verborgen geblieben. In eine andere Richtung, in die Zukunft weist die Betrachtung der Jagdszene Abbildung 6c. Die Jagd auf ein Raubtier mit *lagobolon*, der typischen Waffe bei der Hasenjagd,<sup>36</sup> ist an sich ein Unsinn. Da aber das Thema in der etruskischen Kunst des 6. Jhs. öfters vorkommt,<sup>37</sup> möchte man

33. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), 73.

34. Z. B., F. Hiller, *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*, 1963, 42–43 und Taf. 14; M. Bonamici, *I bucheri con figurazioni graffite* (Florenz, 1974), Taf. 16a, 19b, 23b, 28b, usw. Über das vorherrschende Schema der orientalisierenden Pferdedarstellungen vgl. jetzt E. Rystedt, *Acquarossa*, vol. 4 (Stockholm, 1983), 126.

35. CVA, Louvre 11, III H b, Taf. 5, 11 mit Text von F. Villard. Zur Deutung vgl. G. Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art* (Stockholm, 1971), 16. Der Wagenlenker des Kithara-Malers hat keine Waffen, doch nichts deutet darauf hin, daß es sich um einen Einzelkämpfer handelt, der Krieger und Wagenlenker zugleich war (vgl. Wiesner, oben, Anm. 32, 73). Ob wir in solchen Fällen, wo der Wagen

mit einem einzigen unbewehrten Lenker dargestellt ist, wirklich immer an Wettkampfszenen denken müssen (so Greenhalgh, oben, Anm. 32, 26–39), scheint äußerst fraglich.

36. Zuletzt K. Schauenburg, *Jagddarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen* (Hamburg und Berlin, 1969), 21 mit Anm. 110 und 111.

37. Einige Beispiele bei R.-M. Becker, in *Praestant Interna. Festschrift für Ulrich Hausmann*, herausgegeben von B. v. Freytag gen. Löringhoff, D. Mannsperger und F. Prayon (Tübingen, 1982), 203–204. Vgl. jetzt G. Camporeale, *La caccia in Etruria* (Rom, 1984), 111–114, 134, 139.

lieber an eine sinnvolle Deutung, als an ein rein optisch-dekoratives Motiv denken. Das soll hier indes dahingestellt bleiben. Immerhin ist es aber bedeutsam, daß das in der spätorientalisierenden Kunst Etruriens verbreitete Motiv auch in der folgenden, "ionisierenden" Periode der etruskischen Kultur auf einem Lydion der sogenannten pontischen Gruppe erscheint<sup>38</sup> (Abb. 8). Die zeitliche Entfernung der zwei Vasen ist nicht groß: die Olpe des Kithara-Malers ist gegen 570–560 v. Chr. entstanden, das Lydion kann in die Jahre um 550–540 datiert werden. Zwischen den beiden Zeitpunkten liegt aber die Grenze, die die spät- und suborientalisierende etrusko-korinthische Epoche der etruskischen Vasenmalerei von dem folgenden, völlig erneuerten monumentalen Figurenstil der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jhs. trennt. In ihrer letzten Periode (etwa gegen 560–540) besteht die etrusko-korinthische Produk-

tion aus einer Menge von kleinen Salbgefäßen, überwiegend mit monotonen Wiederholungen von ein- oder zweifigurigen Auszügen aus früheren Tierbildern. Die Orientalisierung als künstlerische Ausdrucksweise hat ihre Aktualität verloren. Es scheint auf den ersten Blick, daß von den etrusko-korinthischen Vasenwerkstätten kein Weg zum Paris-Maler und zu den übrigen Meistern der "pontischen" Vasenbilder führt. Der gar nicht isolierte Fall der Jagdszene des Kithara-Malers beweist aber, daß die Trennung doch nicht so streng war, daß es in der etruskischen Kunst eine zähe ikonographische Tradition gab, die fähig war, auch ohne griechische Hilfe die Kluft zwischen den zwei Welten des künstlerischen Ausdrucks zu überbrücken. Hätte sie nur sinnlose dekorative Bildschemen bewahrt, wäre diese Tradition kaum so lebenskräftig gewesen.

Museum of Fine Arts  
Budapest

38. Becker, oben, Anm. 37, 201, Abb. 2 (danach unserc Abb. 8) und Taf. 42,5.

# Some Plastics in Malibu

William R. Biers

The J. Paul Getty Museum has in its collections a small group of plastic vases and vase fragments of the sixth century B.C., reportedly found in southern Italy.<sup>1</sup> Although fragmentary in the extreme with only three complete examples, this collection of plastics provides a glimpse of the import trade in Magna Graecia during this period. An interesting fact is that the material can be broadly divided between two of the period's major production centers, East Greece (mainly Rhodes) and Corinth. In the following pages the objects from these two areas of production are discussed, and representative examples are presented in catalogue form. Those objects considered to be related to the major production centers but not made there are presented along with the actual imports as an indication of the influence that these imports had on local manufactures.

The subject of local copies of adaptations of imported vases is an interesting problem, one beset with many difficulties of interpretation as well as with a simple lack of knowledge. In many cases, the specific attribution of a particular object to a production center must be tentative at best, due to the fragmentary nature of the material, the difficulties of attribution on the basis of fabric, and the lack of clear understanding of the production and distribution patterns of each center. Despite these inherent weaknesses, it was decided to publish these fragments as a representative collection. A conservative approach has been taken, grouping the material into two broad categories representing imports from the two major centers and local copies or adaptations dependent upon them.

The study of plastic vases of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. has attempted in recent years to delineate the production of particular centers, somewhat in reaction to the "Corinthianization" of the material that followed Payne's pioneering work in *Necrocorinthia*.<sup>2</sup> Many types originally assigned to Corinth have now found homes elsewhere, and new information and better chronologies continue to appear in the course of excavation. The small Getty collection is a sample of the export production of two of the principal centers and, in some cases, the influence that these objects had on the local pottery industry. The fact that the attributions are often not completely positive indicates how much work has yet to be done in this fascinating corner of Greek art.<sup>3</sup>

By far the greatest percentage of fragments can be classified as East Greek or derived from East Greek prototypes. The largest number of these fragments belong to figures with female heads, whether from familiar standing korai, alabstra, or sirens. These figures were very common in the latter part of the sixth century, and most are generally considered to have been made on Rhodes. Among the Getty plastics, female heads predominate, although not enough remains of the rest of the figure to determine whether a kore or siren is indicated. All of the fragments are decorated with polychrome matte paint in Ducat's "technique terre cuite." In the Getty collection, plastic vases painted in this technique are found along with those decorated in vase-painting technique.<sup>4</sup> Although the surface color of the fragments varies from red to yellow to tan, there is no

## Abbreviations:

Higgins 1: R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, vol. 1 (London, 1954).

Higgins 2: R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, vol. 2 (London, 1959).

VPC: J. Ducat, "Les vases plastiques corinthiens," *BCH* 87 (1963), 431–458.

VPR: J. Ducat, *Les vases plastiques rhodiens archaïques en terre cuite*. Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 209 (Paris, 1966).

1. These plastics, once in a private collection in Switzerland, were part of the contents of an ancient *favissa* said to have been discovered in Lucania. The Getty Museum's portion of the deposit reportedly includes all the plastic vases and vase fragments, and it is with them that this

short paper is concerned.

I must thank Jiří Frel for permission to publish this collection and the staff of the J. Paul Getty Museum for making my visits there both useful and delightful. This article is the first on the objects from the *favissa* in the Getty Museum.

2. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), 170–180. This work and the earlier M. I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'Antiquité (époque archaïque)*, M. Carsow, trans. (Paris, 1927) are the basic, original studies of Greek plastic vases of the Archaic period.

3. Thanks must also be expressed to D. A. Amyx and to Jiří Frel for encouraging me to proceed with the publication of these plastics even though our knowledge in this area is perhaps not yet complete enough to make many definitive attributions.

4. For an explanation of the differences in technique of Rhodian plastic vases, see Higgins 1, 19–20.

obvious difference in the interior fabrics, nor do any of the heads seem similar in fabric to those pieces that might be considered of local origin.

There is one fragment that can be definitely attributed to the type of alabastron whose top is formed in the shape of a woman's bust (No. 1, fig. 1). The lack of tresses on either side of the face coupled with the absence of any indications of hair down the back would indicate that the head does not belong to either a standing kore or a siren. Two fragmentary sirens and the tails of two others are, however, preserved. The more complete example of the two is illustrated here (No. 2, fig. 2). This is a typical representative of the type, though rather worn, which may be dated around the end of the sixth century. The remaining female heads, generally thought to come from Rhodes, most likely belong to the common vases in the form of a standing kore holding a dove. Made in two-piece molds, these vases usually bore a simple, spreading vase-mouth perched incongruously on the top of the figure's head. In the only fragment to preserve anything of the body of the vase (No. 3, fig. 3), the vase-mouth is unfortunately broken away. This type of vase has been extensively studied, especially by Ducat, who produced a rather detailed classification based on facial features. Our material, however, does not permit such a minute classification. Moreover, in a situation in which camera angle and lighting can make a critical difference in classification, it is perhaps best to confine ourselves to the illustration of representative pieces. A representative group of heads is shown in figures 4 through 7.

In addition to the many common kore vases from East Greece, there are also a number of plastic vases in the shape of males, standing, seated, or kneeling. The small head in figure 8 is part of this group. Its bloated features indicate that it belongs to a type of dwarf-figure vase attributed by Higgins to Rhodes. A second male head, this time bearded, also belongs to a vase (No. 9, fig. 9). The features find no exact parallels among Rhodian or Corinthian terracottas, and this head may well be a local product.

Clearly of Rhodian origin is a fragmentary helmeted-head vase (No. 10, fig. 10), which was fired to a reddish sheen rather than the usual black. Little vases of this type are very common and must have been highly prized in antiquity. Although of a different fabric, the excellent horse's head (No. 11, fig. 11) also finds parallels among examples assigned to Rhodes—one of the best pieces in the collection, the quality of its painting is quite high. A spout

hole behind the ears clearly indicates that this was the top of a plastic vase, perhaps in the form of a horse protome.

The small portion of the top of a foot vase must also be considered East Greek (No. 12, fig. 12). This fragment preserves only the vase-mouth and a small portion of the plastic thongs of the sandal. These foot vases are a problem, and their exact provenience is as yet unsettled. The foot vase is related to an extraordinary vase that is birdlike in character (No. 13, figs. 13a,b). The fabric of this vase is almost identical to that of the foot fragment; thus it is probably correct to assign it as well to East Greece. The hole at the wide end of the vase must have been for a vase-mouth, for the eyes on the rounded front end must stand for the creature's face, much like the strange owl in Boston, whose head merges into its body. Another bird, perhaps a dove, originally matte painted, can also be attributed to East Greece, probably Rhodes, on the basis of fabric and other parallel features (No. 14, fig. 14). The bird is missing its head as well as the vase-mouth, which originally rose from its back.

The small bull's head (No. 15, fig. 15) may also be at least derived from East Greek types if not actually produced there. Perhaps this is a western version of a popular East Greek shape.

The second and smaller group of fragments is Corinthian or Corinthian derived. Included in this group are the well-known resting hares that are so commonly found in Archaic contexts throughout the Mediterranean (No. 16, fig. 16). Several fragments are preserved of the similarly crude but common seated rams (Nos. 17, 18; figs. 17, 18).

A very interesting offshoot is a complete, squarely built standing ram, most probably a local product inspired by the Corinthian imports (No. 19, fig. 19). A finished hole in the top of the head indicates that the figure was indeed a vase and thus fulfilled the same function as the imported plastic vases—though probably at a lower price—for the local consumers. Copies of resting Corinthian rams are not unknown, but a standing ram is unusual. A step further away from Corinthian plastic vases are fragments of plastic adjuncts that perhaps once adorned pots. Here the Corinthian type of ram's head is strangely capped by a plastic snake, which drapes itself over the head of the animal (Nos. 20, 21; figs. 20, 21). Unfortunately, only these fragments remain to us, and no obvious, close parallels spring to mind, although it is tempting to speculate what kind of object these once adorned. Also probably a western imitation of a

5. Some "komast" figures are illustrated in *VPC*, figs. 7, 11, 15, 16, 17 and in Higgins 2, pls. 26, 27. I would like to thank Marion True for examining no. 23 to confirm the absence of an eyeball on the panther skin.

6. The present catalogue is designed to amplify and explain the

photographs that illustrate every catalogued piece. Basic information about every piece is given, and parallels or speculations are added at the end. Measurements are always maximum preserved dimensions. When recognizable fragments of mica appear in the fabric of a particular piece, it is so indicated. In an attempt to document fabric colors, Munsell Color



imitation of a Corinthian form is a fragment of an *aidoion* vase (No. 22), illustrated in figures 22a,b. It finds a very close parallel in a complete example found at Syracuse.

A large wheel-made fragment of a squatting male figure (No. 23, fig. 23) is one of the most interesting pieces in this small collection. As the catalogue entry indicates, it is probably part of a figure similar to the well-known Corinthian "komast" figures, though it is wheel-made and larger than the Corinthian figures, which average a total height of only slightly more than the height of the Getty's single fragment.<sup>5</sup>

#### CATALOGUE<sup>6</sup>

##### 1. HEAD FROM AN ALABASTRON (fig. 1)

Fabric 7.5YR 7/8 (reddish yellow), highly micaceous; break 10YR 7/2 (light gray); preserved height: 6.4 cm, diameter (mouth): 3.0 cm  
78.AE.271.11

Single fragment preserving worn head and vase-mouth. Broken at an angle below the chin.

For the type, see *VPR*, pl. 11,1; Higgins 1, 44–45, nos. 47, 48. This type is also known in alabaster, and an example is in the Getty collection. See S. K. Morgan, "An Alabaster Scent Bottle in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *GettyMusJ* 6–7 (1978–1979), 199–202.

##### 2. FRAGMENT OF A SIREN (fig. 2)

Fabric 5YR 5/6–6/6 (yellowish red–reddish yellow), highly micaceous; preserved height: 12.5 cm  
79.AE.103

Front portion of siren preserved, forming part of profile bird body with frontal head turned to right; unpierced lug on back. Broken away just behind feet; vase-mouth preserved only in broken stub on top of head. Figure made in two molds, front and back; seam visible on inside. Finger marks can be seen inside front half. Traces of red on chest and around broken stub of vase-mouth. Hair tresses rendered plastically, three on each side of head and down back. Hair rendered in squares, ending in points. Oval face with almond-shaped eyes and smiling mouth.

For the type, see *VPR*, pl. 10,1–2, 11,7; Higgins 1, 52–54, nos. 75–78, especially no. 75, pl. 16.

Chart references are included, although the author is fully aware of the problems involved with the use of such charts. Colors vary with the viewer, the light source, and various other factors, as well as, of course, with firing conditions. The readings were made under artificial, fluorescent light.



Figure 1. No. 1. Head from an alabastron. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.11.



Figure 2. No. 2. Fragment of a siren. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.103.



Figure 3. No. 3. Fragment of a standing kore. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.8.



Figure 4. No. 4. Head of a kore. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.9.

3. FRAGMENT OF A STANDING KORE (fig. 3)  
Fabric 5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow), micaceous;  
preserved height: 9.3 cm  
78.AE.271.8

Single fragment broken just above waist and at right side of head. Mold-made, worn, chips missing from face and right hand. Two strands of hair in squares hang down on either side of chest; hair scalloped over forehead.

For the types and problems associated with their classification, see *VPR*, 61–89. This example belongs to korai “en vêtement rhodien,” *VPR*, 63–65; Higgins 1, 48, no. 57, with dove in left hand.

4. HEAD OF A KORE (fig. 4)  
Fabric 7.5YR 7/4 (pink), micaceous; preserved  
height: 6.4 cm  
78.AE.271.9

Single fragment of front half of molded head, broken below chin; vase-mouth broken away. Severe mouth, wide eyes with distinct lids. Surface blemishes on face perhaps indicate reworked mold. Wears headband; traces of a plastically rendered hair strand on right. Red on vase-neck below missing mouth.

5. HEAD OF A KORE (fig. 5)  
Same fabric as No. 4, but badly discolored by burning;  
preserved height: 6.1 cm; diameter (lip): 3.0 cm  
78.AE.271.17

Single fragment broken below chin; chip missing from vase-mouth. Traces of white slip on face. Features similar to No. 4 but eyes thinner, upper lip more highly arched. Also wears headband; paring evident on back of head.

6. HEAD OF A KORE (fig. 6)  
Fabric 7.5YR 7/8 (reddish yellow); preserved height:  
5.7 cm; diameter (lip): 3.0 cm  
78.AE.271.16

Single fragment, broken below mouth. Features similar to No. 5, but upper lip makes more definite V-shape.

7. HEAD OF A KORE (fig. 7)  
Same fabric as No. 4, but whiter; preserved height:  
6.7 cm  
78.AE.271.15

Mended from two fragments. Broken away below chin; vase-mouth missing, nose chipped. As above, except hair indicated down back with worn incised lines. Also belonging to this group of heads of korai in the Getty collection are: 78.AE.271.10, 12–14, 18, 80.AE.81.18, 21 (rear portion of head).



Figure 5. No. 5. Head of a kore. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.17.



Figure 6. No. 6. Head of a kore. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.16.



Figure 7. No. 7. Head of a kore. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.15.



Figure 8. No. 8. Head of a dwarf. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.81.17.

#### 8. HEAD OF A DWARF (fig. 8)

Fabric 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); preserved height: 3.25 cm; preserved width (back to front): 3.0 cm  
80.AE.81.17

Single fragment, mended from two pieces, broken below chin and at top of head where only hole for vase-mouth remains. The fat face and somewhat protruding eyes suggest that a dwarf is represented. In technique, it belongs with the korai.

See Higgins 1, 56–57, nos. 86–93, pl. 18.



Figure 9. No. 9. Male head. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.19.



Figure 10. No. 10. Helmeted-head vase. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.92.

9. MALE HEAD (fig. 9)

Fabric 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow), slightly micaceous; preserved height: 5.0 cm  
78.AE.271.19

Single fragment, broken at neck. Finished, circular hole for vase-mouth on top of head. Black preserved on hair, beard, and traces on lip for a mustache. Hair scalloped over forehead. Narrow face ending in pointed beard. Oval eyes set under arched brows and between wide lids, pupils outlined by incision; severe mouth; large pointed nose. From worn mold?

The long face and narrow, pointed beard do not find a good parallel among either Rhodian or Corinthian examples. For the usual bearded male in Rhodian plastic vases, see *VPR*, 61–89 and *passim*, especially pl. 11,2–3; for Co-

rinthian heads, see K. Wallenstein, *Korinthische Plastik des 7. und 6. Jahrhunderts vor Christus* (Bonn, 1971), especially pls. 10, 15, 22, 30, 31. A local origin may be the best conclusion for this piece, perhaps based on a Peloponnesian prototype (I am indebted to Jiří Frel for this suggestion).

10. HELMETED-HEAD VASE (fig. 10)

Fabric 2.5YR 5/8–4/8 (red); preserved height: 5.0 cm  
79.AE.92

Single fragment preserving front of head. Ghost of twelve-petaled rosettes on cheek piece and a ten-petaled rosette on forehead guard. Face fired reddish; eyebrows, eyes, and mustache outlined in black. Oval eyes with pupils touching both lids.

Typical sixth-century helmeted-head vase; *VPR*, 7–29.

11. HORSE'S HEAD (fig. 11)

Fabric 10YR 8/2 (white), nonmicaceous; preserved height: 4.4 cm; preserved length: 6.5 cm  
78.AE.271.21

Single fragment, broken at animal's neck. Jagged hole behind ears indicates where vase-mouth would have been. Details of harness, eyes, and mane painted in black; teeth colored red.

The placement of the spout, behind the ears rather than between them, the striped mane, and the dotted harness are paralleled individually in different examples of Ducat's Type G (*VPR*, 110). The harness is particularly close to that on an example in Vienna; A. Oliver, Jr., "Horse-Head Aryballoi," *AK* 7 (1964), pl. 17,4.

12. TOP OF A FOOT VASE (fig. 12)

Fabric 5YR 7/6–7/8 (reddish yellow), slightly micaceous; maximum preserved height: 4.9 cm  
78.AE.271.20

Single fragment preserving vase-mouth, neck, and a portion of the vase proper. Flat strap handle. Rays on top of mouth, horizontal strokes on edge. Neck decorated with red and black dot-rosettes and eight-petaled, incised black rosettes.

The preserved plastic laces indicate that this fragment belongs to a group of foot vases belonging to Ducat's Type B ("à réseau"), *VPR*, 182–185. Ducat considers these foot vases to be Rhodian; others prefer to place them simply in East Greece.

For an example with similar, horizontal strokes on the edge of the mouth but with the more common tongues above the laces, see *VPR*, 183, no. 9 = *MuM Auktion* 16 (1956), 20 and pl. 13,67.



Figure 11. No. 11. Horse's head. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.21.



Figure 12. No. 12. Top of a foot vase. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.20.



Figure 13a. No. 13. Bird vase. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.23.



Figure 13b. Top of bird vase, figure 13a. Max. W: 4.6 cm.

13. BIRD VASE (figs. 13a,b)

Fabric 5YR 7/6–7/8 (reddish yellow), slightly micaceous; preserved length: 7.7 cm; preserved height: 4.8 cm  
78.AE.271.23

Single fragment with hole for vase-mouth at rounded end. Oval shape tapering to a squared-off end, similar to the general shape of floating waterfowl. The upper surface

is ornamented with roughly incised, black-glazed sections—long strokes indicating wings or, at least, flight feathers. Between these wings and immediately behind the vase's mouth is an irregularly cross-hatched area, again probably representing feathers. The front, or rounded end of the vase is ornamented with more controlled feathering, appearing to indicate overlapping feathers. Above this area are two crudely incised eyes in black circles of glaze. The tapering end of the vase is also painted black, like a tail.



Figure 14. No. 14. Dove. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.5.

The body is simply rounded on the bottom; no feet are indicated.

The shape is a more elongated and footless version of the seventh-century bird type from Rhodes in the British Museum (B.M.C. 60.4–4.30, Higgins 2, no. 1602, pl. 2). The form, with the same squared-off tail but much more globular, is common for Corinthian sirens (*VPC*, figs. 22, 23). One might expect, then, a head to act as a filling hole, but the existence of what appear to be eyes on the front above the incised feathering presents a problem. Could the object be considered an owl, whose apparent lack of a discernible neck often causes its head to merge with its body in ancient plastic representations? For examples of plastic vases so constructed, see F. Johansen, “Der er Uglen,” *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 32 (1975), 99–118, figs. 11 and 15 (a standing East Greek owl in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 80.599). The vase would then be capped by a simple filling hole, perhaps an aryballos mouth, which would accord better with the shape of the present break. The crude nature of the decoration and the liberties taken with the natural form remind one of some Etruscan plastic vases. However, the fabric of the Getty piece appears identical to that of No. 12, and peculiarly shaped bird vases are by no means unknown in East Greece (cf. Higgins 2, no. 1604, pl. 2).

14. DOVE (fig. 14)

Fabric 7.5YR 8/4–8/6 (pink-reddish yellow), micaceous; preserved height: 4.1 cm; preserved length: 7.0 cm  
78.AE.271.5

Single fragment missing head, vase-mouth, and portion



Figure 15. No. 15. Fragment of a bull's head. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.96.

of forked tail. Mold-made, traces of white slip. Bird shown sitting; feet attached separately as would have been head and vase-mouth.

This belongs to Ducat's “oiseaux de technique terre cuite” (*VPR*, 153–154). For an almost exact parallel, see C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, fouilles de l'acropole, 1902–1914*, vol. 1, *Les petits objets* (Berlin, 1931), 586, no. 2426, pl. 113.

15. FRAGMENT OF A BULL'S HEAD (fig. 15)

Fabric 5YR 6/8–7/8 (reddish yellow); preserved height: 5.1 cm  
79.AE.96

Single fragment, broken at neck, left ear missing. Tips of horns broken away. A suspension (?) hole is preserved between the right ear and the right horn. A hole in the neck behind the horns indicates the position of the vase-mouth. The head is covered with black glaze, and details are rendered by incision.

The head vaguely resembles other bull protomes assigned to Rhodes but has no exact parallels. See *VPR*, 102–106, especially Type D, pl. 14.4. The suspension hole seems to be an unusual feature. This bull may be a local rendition of the East Greek type.

Also perhaps belonging to this general East Greek group is a fragment in the Getty collection of a molded haunch of an animal, 81.AE.15 (5YR 7/6, reddish yellow, micaceous; preserved height: 5.3 cm).

16. CORINTHIAN HARE (fig. 16)

Fabric 10YR 8/4–7/4 (very pale brown); preserved height: 5.0 cm; preserved length: 8.3 cm  
78.AE.271.6



Figure 16. No. 16. Corinthian hare. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.6.

Complete. Finished vertical hole through top of head, suspension hole through base of ears behind head. Body wheel-made; head, tail, and legs handmade. Traces of black glaze on feet and tail. The body was once covered with black dots, representing the creature's coat, and a few can still be seen.

See *VPC*, fig. 28, for this type. Another example in the Getty collection, 78.AE.271.7, displays the same fabric and technique. Preserved height: 4.6 cm, preserved length: 7.7 cm. Complete, but ears broken away behind suspension hole.

17. HEAD OF A CORINTHIAN RAM (fig. 17)

Fabric 10YR 8/2–8/3 (white to very pale brown); preserved height: 4.15 cm; preserved length: 5.5 cm 79.AE.81.4

Single fragment of resting ram preserving handmade head and horns and portion of wheel-made body. Orifice in top of head; suspension hole through center of horns, which are simply thin coils of clay. Traces of red on muzzle.

See *VPC*, fig. 27, for the type. Another similar Getty fragment is 79.AE.81.1.

18. HEAD OF A CORINTHIAN RAM (fig. 18)

Same fabric and technique as No. 17; preserved height: 3.6 cm 79.AE.81.2

Single fragment, as above, but muzzle broken away. However, portion of body preserved with brown spots; traces of black glaze also on horns.

Another similar Getty fragment is 79.AE.81.3.



Figure 17. No. 17. Head of a Corinthian ram. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.81.4.

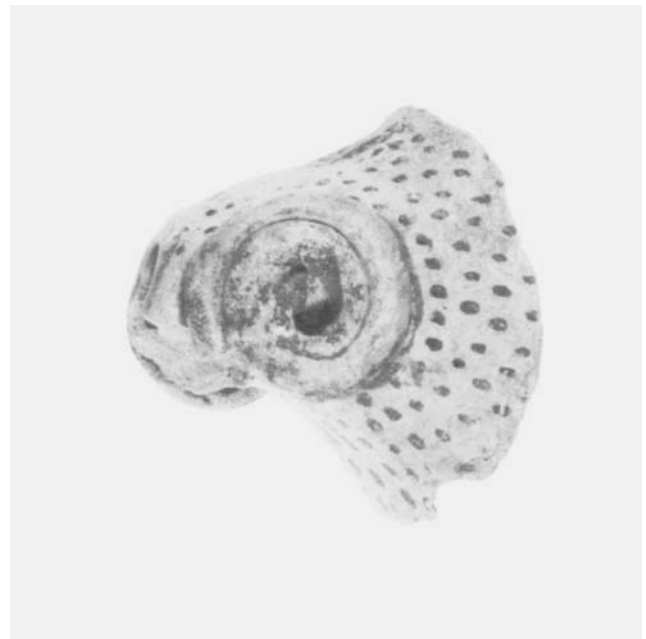


Figure 18. No. 18. Head of a Corinthian ram. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.81.2.

19. STANDING RAM (fig. 19)

Fabric 7.5YR 8/4–8/6 (pink to reddish yellow), slightly micaceous; preserved height: 6.5 cm; preserved length: 8.8 cm; diameter (hole): 0.8 cm 79.AE.99

Complete. Blocklike shape on short, square legs. Horns made of coils of clay and unpierced; tail separately added. Probably mold-made, but no joining lines visible. Surface pared; traces of black on muzzle, horns, and chest. Very



Figure 19. No. 19. Standing ram. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.99.

faint traces of a concentric circle on left shoulder.

Local version of a Corinthian ram but standing, unlike the resting pose common for Corinthian and other examples. A number of local imitations of common Corinthian hares and rams are known; often the determination appears to have been made solely on the basis of fabric color; see E. Lissi, "La collezione Scaglione a Locri," *AttiMGrecia*, n.s. 4 (1961), 118–119, nos. 202–206, pl. 57. Etruscan imitations have also been identified; P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della collezione Castellani* (Rome, 1930), 159–160, no. 402, pl. 31,1 (Villa Giulia 51981), *VPR*, 101 n. 1 (a ram). The general shape and treatment of the horns indicate that all these rams were derived from Corinthian prototypes rather than from East Greek types. There, complete rams are differently constructed; see *VPR*, 100–101.

20. RAM'S HEAD WITH A SNAKE (fig. 20)

Fabric 7.5YR 8/4 (pink), slightly micaceous;  
preserved length: 4.8 cm  
79.AE.98.1

Single solid fragment, broken at neck. Ram's muzzle missing. Snake attached to ram's head in antiquity. Ram's horns preserved as coiled strips of clay, as on No. 19. Red and brown stripes on neck, horns, and down back of snake. Incised circles for snake's eyes, X incised on head, and two incised lines run down length of head.

With no filling hole, the rams did not function as vases but perhaps as decoration for vases. One is reminded of the elaborate seventh-century vases from Athens with plastic adjuncts of animal, human, and floral shapes. Perhaps our rams decorated similar, local vases. For one of the more

elaborate examples from Athens with plastic snakes, see K. Kübler, *Die Nekropole des spätern 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts*. Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen, vol. 6, part 2 (Berlin, 1970), Kerameikos 149, pls. 38–40.

21. RAM'S HEAD WITH A SNAKE (fig. 21)

Fabric 7.5YR 7/4 (pink); preserved length: 4.7 cm  
79.AE.98.2 and 79.AE.98.3 (snake)

Like No. 20 in technique, except snake restored in position. Stripes blacker on snake, and eyes hollowed out.

22. FRAGMENT OF AN AIDOION VASE (figs. 22a,b)

Fabric 10YR 8/4–8/6 (very pale brown to yellow);  
preserved height: 6.0 cm  
78.AE.271.22

Single fragment, most of testes broken away; penis and pubes handmade. Pubes squared-off, but slightly gabled; suspension holes through top and outside on either side. Finished hole on top for vase-mouth. Decoration in faded black on pubes, checkerboard on back, zigzags on sides. Front of pubes and testes decorated with dots. Penis pared; faded black dot at end.

In technique, fabric, and decoration our fragment is very close to an example in Syracuse (Museo Archeologico 3049), which, however, has a single, squared macander painted on the reverse and straight black lines on the sides of the more strongly gabled pubes. The fabric of the two vases is very similar, and when the Syracusan example is examined together with undoubtedly Corinthian plastics, its fabric looks very different, having a more distinctly yellow appearance. Johansen considers the vase in Syracuse a Sicilian imitation of a Corinthian type, and the Getty example would appear to be in a similar category. See E. Johansen, "En Østgræsk Parfume flaske fra 6. Årh. f. Kr.," *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 33 (1976), 96, fig. 25.

23. FRAGMENT OF A MALE FIGURE (fig. 23)

Fabric 7.5YR 8/4–7/4 (pink); preserved height:  
8.85 cm  
79.AE.82

Single fragment of a seated male figure, broken all around; wheel marks on interior. Preserved is a portion of the figure's rounded belly and one thigh, which extends outward beyond the curve of the body. A break at the thin end of this upper leg indicates that the lower leg would have extended down from the knee at almost a right angle. A panther skin was draped over the body. The left side of the skin, including approximately half the head and leg ending in a paw, is preserved on this fragment, extending over the upper thigh. The outlines of the pelt and the claws





Figure 20. No. 20. Ram's head with a snake. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.98.1.



Figure 21. No. 21. Ram's head with a snake. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.98.2 and 79.AE.98.3 (snake).



Figure 22a. No. 22. Fragment of an aidoion vase. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.271.22.

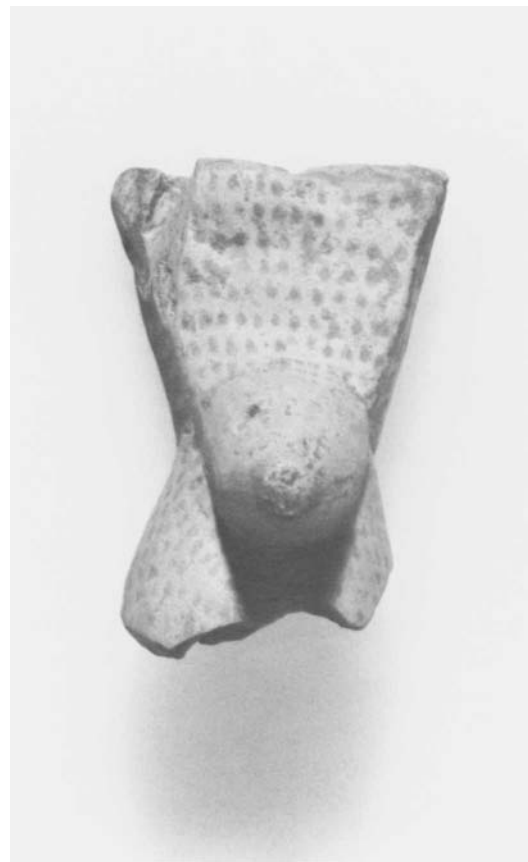


Figure 22b. Front of aidoion vase, figure 22a.

are incised; within the pelt outline the skin is rendered in purple; outside, a thin line of black glaze provides a border. The upper thigh is decorated with an oblong grouping of ten vaguely lozenge-shaped blobs, a semicircular line, and dimple lines at the knee.

The pose of the figure must have resembled that of the common squatting Corinthian komasts, in which the thigh

and lower leg are placed in the same general relationship (VPC, *passim*; a short discussion of these vases will be included in D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Paintings of the Archaic Period*, vol. 2 (in press). Even closer is the position of the famous Corinthian seated male figure holding a cup in the Louvre, illustrated in figures 24a,b (E. Pottier, *CV4 Louvre* 8, pls. 3–4 [France, pls. 500–501]; *idem*, “Le satyr

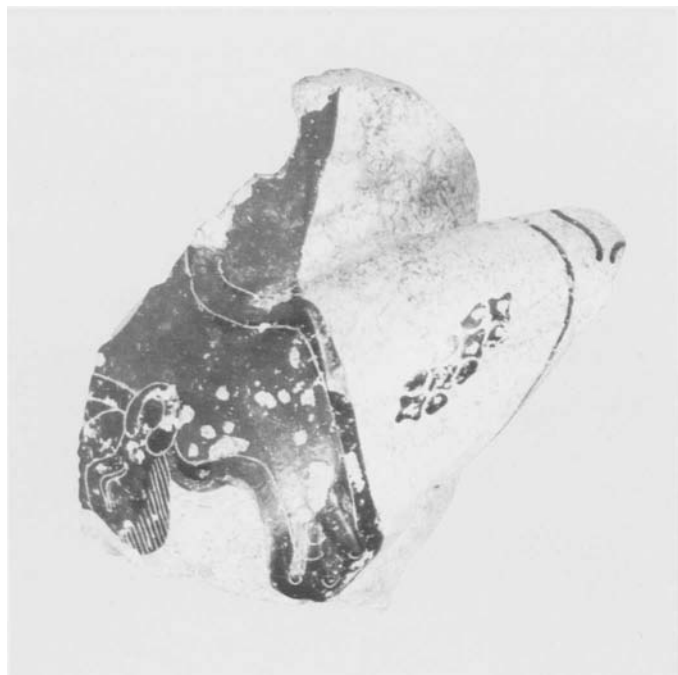


Figure 23. No. 23. Fragment of a male figure. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.82.

boveur," *BCH* 19 [1895], 225–235). This figure also wears a panther skin, which hangs down his back, but it is spotted and hangs symmetrically over the buttocks rather than being draped partially over the upper thigh, as on our example (*ibid.*, 230, fig. 2). The lozenge design on the thigh appears to be a clumsy copy of a common Archaic body ornament, which is found in a more organized form on human figures in Archaic vase-painting as well as on Corinthian komasts (B. Fellmann, "Zur Deutung frühgriechischer Körperornamente," *JdI* 93 [1978], 1–29. This type of design is illustrated in figs. 11 [no. 15], 15, 16, and is discussed on pp. 14–18. For the design in a group of nine elements on a komast in Bonn, see fig. 16).

The similarity of our fragment to the Louvre figure is striking. There is no certainty, however, that the Getty fragment in fact belonged to a plastic vase, although it may have. It would have been considerably larger than the average molded Corinthian komast, which generally measures 9–10 cm in total height. The color and composition of the fabric of the Getty fragment are well within the parameters of Corinthian clays, although the rendering of the secondary design and the panther skin do not seem up to the quality one might expect on a Corinthian terracotta of this size. One peculiarity is the lack of an eyeball on the head of the panther skin. Two curving lines seem rather to indicate a closed eye. Again, perhaps "Corinthian derived" is the best description.

University of Missouri, Columbia



Figure 24a. Komast figure with vase. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 454. Photo: Courtesy Musée du Louvre.



Figure 24b. Back view of figure 24a showing panther skin. Photo: Courtesy Musée du Louvre.

# A Kylix and Fragments by the Boread Painter

Cynthia Hoyt-Grimes

Θαύμας δ' Ὠκεανοῦ βαθυρρεΐταιο θύγατρα  
ἡγάγετ' Ἡλέκτρην· ἥ δ' ὠκείαν τέκεν Ἴριν  
ἡνκόμους θ' Ἀρπυίας, Ἀελλώ τ' Ὠκυπέτην τε,  
αἳ ῥ' ἀνέμων προΐησι καὶ ὠανοῖς ἅμ' ἔπονται  
ὠκείης πτερύγεσσι· μεταχρόνιαι γὰρ ἴαλλον.

Hesiod, *Theogony*, 265–269

A Laconian kylix in the J. Paul Getty Museum presents the third extant copy of the subject from which its painter derives his name—the Boreads' pursuit of the Harpies (figs. 1a–c).<sup>1</sup> The kylix can be dated circa 550–540 B.C., not much later than the earliest example in Samos (figs. 2a–b) or the Boread Painter's name piece in the Museo di Villa Giulia (fig. 3).<sup>2</sup> These three cups, which undoubtedly reflect the use of a workshop prototype, provide an opportunity to examine the ways in which the Boread Painter altered his composition.

The potting of the Getty kylix duplicates that of the Villa Giulia cup, and the outside decoration from lip to handle-zone is comparable.<sup>3</sup> Above the palmette frieze, the Getty cup is offset by two neat lines (fig. 1b), whereas the Villa Giulia cup's frieze is marked by three lines, irregularly thick and carelessly drawn. The horizontal palmettes that extend from the handles on both cups are of a standard type, differing only in the number of petals: the Getty cup had twenty-six, while the Villa Giulia cup has twenty. A

small fragment in the Getty Museum (fig. 4a), which belongs to the same hand, also displays this palmette type.<sup>4</sup> It too belongs to a kylix, which was thicker-walled than the Getty cup. Its petals total twenty-three and are drawn likewise outward from the central heart. The fragment of the Samos cup that survives preserves an entire palmette from the same zone (fig. 2b). It differs from the previous type only in its inner detail. Of the eight types of palmettes attributed to the Boread Painter, only these two types are identically proportioned.<sup>5</sup>

Below the handle-frieze, the three cups are markedly similar. Purple bands and horizontal lines alternate between decorative friezes. The frieze of rays that stretch up from below are the same thin type.<sup>6</sup> Tongues, a type unconnected at the top, alternate purple and black.<sup>7</sup> The Boread Painter made good use of a pomegranate with an angled base-stem and crossed top, which he preferred on the outside of his cups, while using a different sort with a simple top-stem around the inside of the tondo. The Getty and Villa Giulia cups and the Getty fragment all share this kind of pomegranate in their tondos (figs. 1a, 4b), while the Samos cup differs again (fig. 2a).<sup>8</sup> On the outside, concentric circles continue the painted decoration to the stem of all three cups: there are a total of thirteen circles on the Getty kylix and eight on the Samos fragments, while eight of unequal spacing remain on the Villa Giulia kylix. The

Abbreviation:

Stibbe: C. M. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Amsterdam, 1972).

1. The J. Paul Getty Museum, 85.AE.461. See J. Frel and M. True, *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection* (Malibu, 1983), 68, no. 16. I would like to thank Jiří Frel and Marion True for inviting me to study this kylix during my internship at the Getty Museum and for their kind assistance and many suggestions while I was writing this article. I am also grateful to Alan Griffiths of University College, London, for his keen observations and to Marianina Olcott, California State University, San Jose, for her helpful suggestions. The attribution of the kylix was made by Dietrich von Bothmer.

2. Samos, Archaeological Museum K1540, from the Heraion (four fragments remain); Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, from Cerveteri. For a recent bibliography, see Stibbe, no. 119, pls. 37,1; 38,1–2; 39,1–2; and no. 122, pl. 41,1–3. Stibbe dates these cups to 575–570 B.C.

I am most grateful to C. M. Stibbe for suggesting a fourth cup by the Boread Painter in some fragments from Amathous (Cyprus) that show the exergue feline's hindquarters; it may well be a sphinx, but equally may be a lion. See E. Gjerstad et al., "Greek Geometric and Archaic

Pottery Found in Cyprus," *Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae* 26 (1977), 81, pl. 18,9–10.

3. The Boread Painter introduced this shape; see Stibbe, 21–22, Formgruppe V, fig. 6. The restored height of the Getty kylix is 12 cm; restored diameter at its widest point 19.2 cm; restored diameter of the foot 8.9 cm; height of the bowl 6.6 cm; height of stem 5.4 cm; thickness of wall at the bowl's base 0.5 cm, 0.2 cm at its lip. The kylix was restored by Patricia Tuttle in the Getty Museum.

4. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.39.19; 3.3 x 1.9 cm. This fragment can also be dated circa 550–540 B.C.

5. See B. B. Shefton, "Three Laconian Vase Painters" *BSA* 49 (1954), 300. Shefton used the handle-palmette as his criteria for dating: "This order is based upon the putative development of the handle ornament." For those palmette types attributed to the painter by Stibbe, see his page 92, particularly types 12 and 13.

6. See Stibbe, 92, type 1.

7. See Stibbe, 92, type 8.

8. See Stibbe, 91, types 1 and 3. On the Villa Giulia cup, the pomegranates on the outside were in part restored incorrectly (Stibbe, 231).



*Figure 1a.* Tondo of kylix by the Boread Painter. Restored diam: 19.2 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.461.



*Figure 1b.* Profile of kylix, figure 1a. Restored H: 12 cm.



Figure 1c. Underside of kylix, figure 1a.

Getty kylix and the Samos fragments have surviving stems, but only the Getty cup has any part of the foot, which has been painted black both inside and out with a reserved base.

The tondo scenes in the three cups are strikingly similar. The sons of Boreas, Zetes and Kalais, grab the throats of their victims—the Harpies, who were sent by Zeus to torment the blind Phineus. This aerial chase is widely known from the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius.<sup>9</sup> In that version, the Boreads rushed near their victims, but grasped for them in vain. Iris then intervened and turned the Boreads back. A scholiast on this passage testifies to a Hesiodic version in which Hermes stops the pursuit.<sup>10</sup> Apollodoros re-

cords another version in which the Boreads slay the Harpies. One falls into a river in the Peloponnese, while the other falls at the Strophades Islands.<sup>11</sup> The Boread Painter's composition of this pursuit adequately indicates certain death for the Harpies, since the Boreads clutch their victims' necks. Therefore, a variant myth must have existed in the Peloponnese in which the Harpies were slain, either unknown to or ignored by Hesiod. The Boread Painter's understanding of the myth must be related to the tradition found in Apollodoros' *Library*.

This subject is first found in vase-painting at the end of the seventh century in a similar composition, which Beazley called "the earliest representation of the legend." It sur-

9. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, ii.282–287.

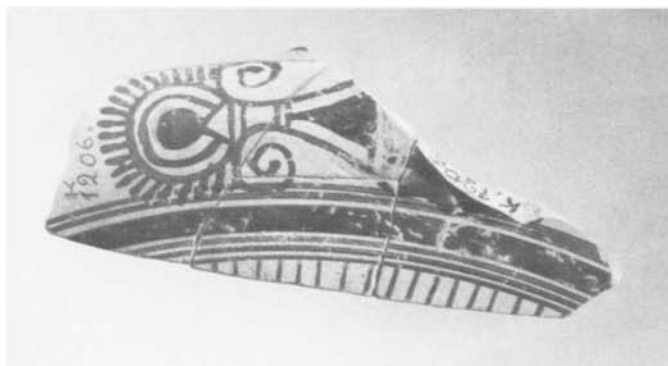
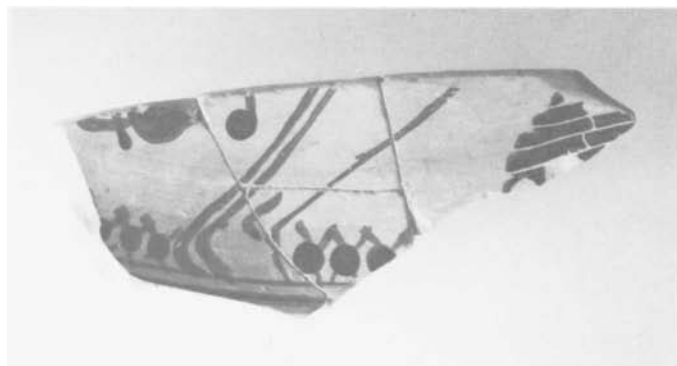
ὥς Ζήτης Κάλαις τε μάλα σχεδὸν αἰσσοῦντες  
τάων ἀκροτάτησιν ἐπέχραον ἥλιθα χερσίν.  
καί νύ κε δὴ σφ' ἀέκητι θεῶν διεδηλήσαντο  
πολλὸν ἑκάς νήσοισιν ἐπὶ Πλωτῆσι κιχόντες,  
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὦκέα Ἴρις ἴδεν, κατὰ δ' αἰθέρος ἄλτο  
οὐρανόθεν, καὶ τοῖα παραιφαμένη κατέρυκεν·

10. Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, ii.296–297 (p. 150 Wendel) = Hesiod frag. 156 M.-W.

11. Apollodoros, i.9.21.6; (Hesiod frag. 155 M.-W.)

διωκομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀρπυιῶν ἡ μὲν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον εἰς τὸν  
Τίγερην ποταμὸν ἐμπίπτει, ὅς νυν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ἀρπυς καλεῖται·  
ταύτην δὲ οἱ μὲν Νικοθήην, οἱ δὲ Ἀελλόπουν καλοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα  
καλουμένη Ὠκυπέτῃ, ὥς δὲ ἔνιοι Ὠκυθόῃ ('Ησιόδος δὲ λέγει αὐτὴν  
Ὠκυπόδην), αὕτη κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα φεύγουσα μέχρι  
Ἐχινάδων ἤλθε νήσων, αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Στροφάδες καλοῦνται.

He mistakes the spelling of Hesiod's Ὠκυπέτῃ, see *Theogony* 267.



Figures 2a–b. Fragment of kylix by the Boread Painter. *Left*: the left feet of the Harpies; *right*: palmette on exterior. Samos Archaeological Museum K1540. Photos: Courtesy Samos Archaeological Museum.



Figure 3. Tondo of kylix by the Boread Painter. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia. Photo: Courtesy Museo di Villa Giulia.

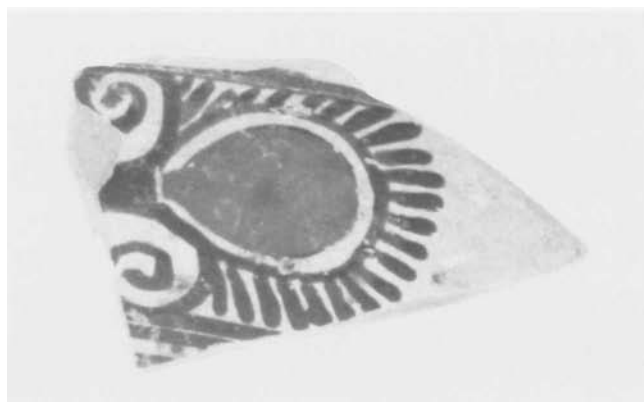


Figure 4a. Exterior of kylix fragment by the Boread Painter. L: 3.3 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.39.19.



Figure 4b. Interior of kylix fragment, figure 4a.

vives on a fragmentary bowl by the Nessos Painter, with the preserved inscription ΑΡΕΙΠΤΙΑ.<sup>12</sup> The same scene appears again, this time with Phineus still at his table, in an ornamental ivory group from Delphi.<sup>13</sup> Pausanias describes the great throne at Amyklai, which also presented the myth: “Kalaïs and Zetes are driving off the Harpies from Phineus.”<sup>14</sup> This monument was surely known to our vase-painter, but unfortunately, the compositions cannot be compared.

In this aerial pursuit, the Boread Painter relieves the usual rectangular structure of Laconian tondo compositions through swirling wings and outstretched limbs, making the exergue, so common in Laconian vase-painting, almost cumbersome.<sup>15</sup> On the Getty cup (fig. 1a), the Boread Painter has centered his composition well, so that the space behind the elbows of the Boreads would not have been as stark as the same area in the Villa Giulia tondo (fig. 3). In the exergue a lion on the Getty kylix replaces a sphinx in the Villa Giulia, which, with its protruding tongue, seems humorously appropriate.<sup>16</sup>

The human figures, worked in double outline, provide many anatomical comparisons. The most characteristic features of the Boread Painter's style, according to Stibbe, are found in his rendering of eyes, ears, abdominal muscles, hipbones, and knees.<sup>17</sup> On the Getty cup, the eyes, ears, and knees alone support an attribution to him. Unfortunately, the abdominal muscles are missing on each cup, and the hip (although rendered on the Villa Giulia cup) was omitted on the Getty cup. The almond-shaped eyes are heightened with eyebrows that follow the shape of the eye. Only one ear survives on the Getty cup, that of a female, but it is more like the standard Boread Painter ear observed by Stibbe than either the male or female ears that survive on the Villa Giulia cup. The knees provide a slight change in rendition, which can be attributed to the use of outline

technique for the females and incision for the males. In any case, the Harpies' knees are rendered alike on the Getty and Villa Giulia cups, and knees are consistently likewise drawn on all pairs of Boreads, with male knees surviving on all three cups.<sup>18</sup>

A comparison of the three fragmentary versions of the nearer Harpies suggests a possible reconstruction of the missing hands on the Getty cup. The angular double wings of the Getty Harpies are more like the wings on the Samos cup, differing only in the alternating purple and black feathers (however, this color scheme is also found on the Villa Giulia cup). On the Getty cup, the positioning of the right arm of the nearer Harpy and the placement and angle of her elbow parallel the treatment of the remaining right forearm and elbow of the Harpy on the Samos fragment. Therefore, the Getty Harpy, like the Samos Harpy, may have held her skirt with a clawed hand.<sup>19</sup> This sort of cupped hand is reminiscent of one of the Nessos Painter's Harpies, yet interestingly enough, the clawed Nessos Harpy does not hold her skirt. It can be certain that on the Getty tondo, the nearer Harpy's left forearm appeared at waist level, since both the Samos fragment and the Villa Giulia cup show the left forearm appearing there. The Harpy's left shoulder is hidden on all three examples of this scene. Whether the Getty Harpy's left hand holds her skirt or an amphora is uncertain.<sup>20</sup>

Many other details on the Getty, Samos, and Villa Giulia vases are comparable where they survive: the Boreads each have long hair with added purple wreaths; the thumbnail is indicated on the nearer Boreads' left hand; the nearer Harpies have five divisions in their bangs (fringe); purple is added to the eyeballs of the Boreads, and added purple alternates with incision on the hindquarters of the exergue animals.

There can be no doubt that all three cups were executed

12. J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*. Sather Classical Lectures, 24 (Berkeley, 1951), 15.

13. Delphi Museum 1355, of Corinthian workmanship. It is thought to be close to what would have been found on the “Chest of Kypselos”: “Etwa um dieselbe Zeit wie die beiden lakonischen Schalen entstand eine aus ungezählten Fragmenten wiedergewonnene Elfenbeingruppe in Delphi, die eine gute Vorstellung gibt, wie wir uns die Reliefs an der verlorenen Kypseloslade zu denken haben.” (P. Blome, “Das Gestörte Mahl des Phineus auf einer Lekythos des Sapphomalers,” *AntK* 21 [1978], 72). The “Chest of Kypselos” was dedicated at Olympia according to Paus. v.17.11:

Φινεύς τε ὁ Θρᾷξ ἔστι, καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Βορέου τὰς Ἀρπυίας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διώκουσιν.

The parallel in Delphi testifies to the popularity of the composition.

14. Paus. iii.18.15:

ὑπελθόντι δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον τὰ ἔνδον ἀπὸ τῶν Τριτῶνων ὅς ἐστι θῆρα τοῦ Καλυδωνίου καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνων τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ἀκτορος, Κάλαις δὲ καὶ Ζήτῃς τὰς Ἀρπυίας Φινεύς ἀπελαύνουσιν.

On the architect Bathykles the Magnesian see Paus. iii.18.9 and H.

Stuart-Jones: “Bathykles was employed to utilize the present of gold sent by Croesus to Sparta on the decoration of the temple of Apollo at Amyklai,” *Select Passages from Ancient Writers Illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture* (Chicago, 1966), 27.

15. The absence of a groundline is due to flight. For a groundline indicating the sea, see Stibbe, no. 222. The use is not wholly consistent.

16. The Samos cup also has a sphinx, Stibbe, 230.

17. Stibbe, 89.

18. The divisional lines radiating from the kneecap of the nearer Boread on the Villa Giulia cup were omitted.

19. The nearer Villa Giulia Harpy's right elbow would be slightly higher, making the arm itself more acutely angled, a position more appropriate for carrying an object. Stibbe also noticed the cupped hand of a komast by the Boread Painter (no. 141), but scale, subject, and technique make it exceptional.

20. It is less likely that the Getty Harpy should hold an amphora and dish as does the Villa Giulia Harpy; the similarity of the angular double wings to those of the Samos Harpy, as well as the similarly positioned right arms, make it likely that the Getty Harpy held her skirt with both hands.

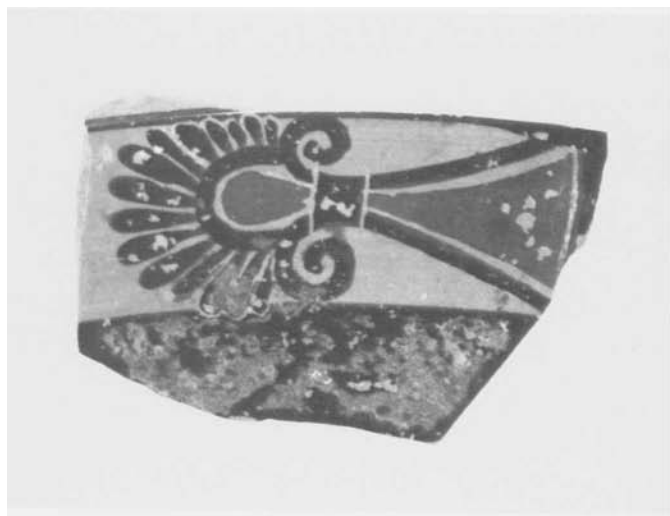


Figure 5a. Exterior of kylix fragment by the Boread Painter. L: 4.9 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.39.15.

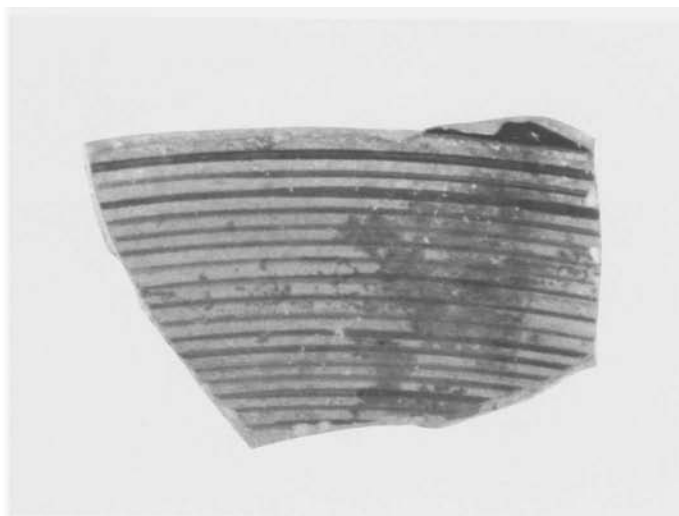


Figure 5b. Interior of kylix, figure 5a.

at nearly the same time. Stibbe placed the Samos cup earlier than the Villa Giulia cup, and if this is correct, the Getty cup may be only slightly later. It has evolved beyond the Villa Giulia cup in three important respects: the outside decoration is more careful; the figures fit the tondo more evenly; and the substitution of the lion for the sphinx in the exergue relieves the abundance of wings. It remains to be seen how many examples of this composition still survive and whether the Boread Painter himself designed the prototype.

The Getty Museum has yet another small fragment (82.AE.39.15) measuring 4.9 x 3.2 cm, which also belongs to the Boread Painter (figs. 5a–b). Against a dark background, a complete handle palmette survives. Added purple is used for the palmette's heart, which has been outlined

with an incised line. The petals radiating from the center have been distinguished with incision against the black glaze that appears above and below. The palmette's neck is marked at top and bottom with two incised lines, and purple has been added as a triangular fill in the stem. An incised line is used to emphasize the base-line of the added purple. A trace of the offset lip survives on the fragment, while a thick band of black remains below the palmette frieze. The surviving tondo decoration is a series of thin concentric circles. A kylix in the Louvre by the Boread Painter<sup>21</sup> offers a striking comparison; it has the same type of palmette, with the same repeated pattern of concentric circles in the tondo. The Getty fragment must therefore belong to another kylix of this type and must have been decorated by the Boread Painter.

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21. Louvre S 4373; see Stibbe, 143.



# Booners

Donna Carol Kurtz, John Boardman

The white-ground kyathos in the J. Paul Getty Museum (figs. 1a–d, 11) is an early and fine example of a type of vase that was produced in Athens for a relatively short time. The style of decoration suggests that it was painted by a contemporary of Psiax in the last decades of the sixth century B.C. The principal figure is a reveler wearing a costume associated with the Ionian poet Anakreon, who came to Athens about the time the vase was painted.

Part one of this article, by Donna Carol Kurtz, discusses the shape, technique, and style of decoration of the kyathos. Part two, by John Boardman, is devoted to representations of Anakreon and his boon companions on Athenian black- and red-figure vases.<sup>1</sup>

## PART ONE: THE KYATHOS

Kyathos is the name conventionally given to two types of dipper or ladle, which were made in a variety of materials.<sup>2</sup> The footless kyathos, with long thin handle, was

produced for some time in Athens, probably in metal and wood more often than clay. This type of kyathos can be seen on black- and red-figure vases, usually in representations of drinking parties.<sup>3</sup> The footed kyathos, with which we shall be concerned, was apparently made in clay in Athens for less than fifty years.<sup>4</sup> The workshop of Nikosthenes is the first known to have specialized in it from around 530 B.C. Some kyathoi were decorated in the red-figure technique, but it was essentially a black-figure shape. Nikosthenes<sup>5</sup> supplied Etruscans as well as the home market. His special neck-amphora was modeled on a shape already well established in the native bucchero fabric where a footed kyathos was also known.<sup>6</sup> Shape and decoration of the Etruscan kyathos, however, admit considerable variety,<sup>7</sup> and the form which most closely resembles the Attic figured vase may be later than the earliest made in Athens.<sup>8</sup> Bucchero kyathoi can have patterned rims and molded attachments on the bowl and handle. The kyathoi which

### Abbreviations:

In addition to standard abbreviations the following are used in this article:

ABFH: J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases, a Handbook* (London, 1974).

ARFH: J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases, a Handbook* (London, 1975).

BAdd: L. Burn and R. Glynn, comps., *Beazley Addenda* (Oxford, 1982).

Brandenburg: H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra* (Münster, 1966).

CB: L. D. Caskey and J. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 2* (Oxford, 1954), 55–61.

Cohen: B. Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases* (New York, 1978).

Eisman: M. Eisman, "Attic Kyathos Painters" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1970. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms).

Hoppin: J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases* (Paris, 1924).

Kurtz: D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (Oxford, 1975).

LIMC: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 1 (Zurich, 1981).

Mertens: J. R. Mertens, *Attic White-Ground: Its Development on Shapes Other than Lekythoi* (New York, 1977).

MuM: Münzen und Medaillen, Basel (catalogues of sales).

Pfuhl, MuZ: E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnungen der Griechen* (Munich, 1923; reprint ed., Rome, 1969).

1. This article could have been titled "A White-Ground Kyathos in Malibu and Observations on Representations of Anakreon and His Boon Companions." We preferred the more economical nickname used in the course of writing it. Its formation may puzzle some. The -er/-ers suffix has long been affected in Oxford—Pragger Wagger (Prince of Wales), the Giler (St. Giles), the wagger-pagger-bagger (wastepaper basket)—although it is now falling out of use. Beazley was not immune;

"the Swinger" and "the Affecter" are related formations that have readily been accepted. In his published works, however, he tended not to use some forms which he had adopted in his notes—Drooper (Droop Cup), Lipper (Lip Cup), Pigger (the Pig Painter). "Booners" seemed a subject fit for such familiarity.

-er, suffix<sup>6</sup>. Also -ers. Introduced from Rugby School into Oxford University slang, orig. at University College, in Michaelmas Term, 1875; used to make jocular formations on sbs., by clipping or curtailing them and adding -er to the remaining part, which is sometimes itself distorted.

*Oxford English Dictionary*, Suppl. I (1972), 967, s.v.

2. B. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Agora*, vol. 12 (Princeton, 1970), 143; Sparkes, *JHS* 82 (1962), 131 n. 90; Eisman, *AJA* 77 (1973), 71–73; Eisman, *passim*.

3. For example, on the black-figure jug made by Xenokles for Kleiosophos (Athens 1045; *ABV*, 186; Hoppin, 145) and Paseas' squat red-figure lekythos (Berlin 1960.32; *ARV*, 163.12 bis and 1630; *JbBerlMus* 3 [1961], 118–119).

4. Eisman, 11–12, 43–50, 825–828.

5. *ABV*, 216–237 and 690; *Para*, 104–109; *BAdd*, 26–27.

6. Giroux, *RA* 1966, 13–32; Bothmer, *RA* 1969, 7; Verzár, *AntK* 16 (1973), 45–56; Eisman, *GettyMusJ* 1 (1974), 43–54.

7. Canciani, *AntK* 21 (1978), 18 n. 4 (with bibliography); T. Rasmussen, *Bucchero Pottery* (Cambridge, 1979), 110–116; Ramage, *BSR* 38 (1970), 30.

8. J. Beazley and F. Magi, *La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, vol. 1 (1939), 128–130; Rasmussen (*supra*, note 7), 113–114 gives reasons for thinking that Attic potters were inspired by Etruscan shapes and not vice versa.



Figure 1a. White-ground kyathos. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.102 and 78.AE.5.



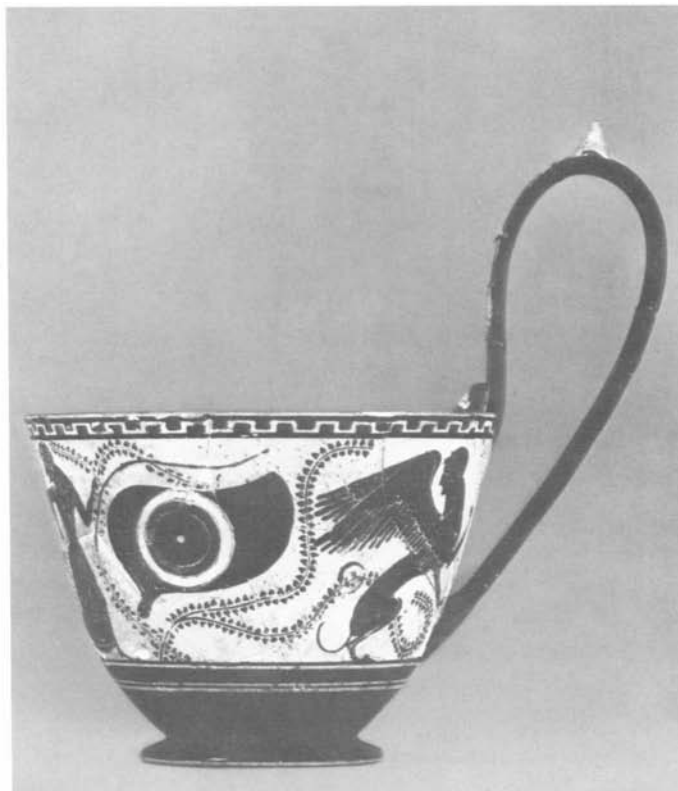
Figure 1b. Side of kyathos, figure 1a.



Figure 1c. Side of kyathos, figure 1a.



Figure 1d. Back of kyathos, figure 1a.



Figures 2a–b. White-ground kyathos attributed to Psiax. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum (University of Würzburg) 436. Photo: Courtesy Martin von Wagner Museum.

have been preserved with Nikosthenes' signature as maker<sup>9</sup> have angular profiles: the straight walls of the bowl taper without curvature to a substantial disc foot. There are no patterns around the outside of the rim, and the figures are set out in a frieze, as they are on Nikosthenic neck-amphorae. The strap handle is black and it has no decorative additions.<sup>10</sup>

Psiax is the finest painter of Attic kyathoi and the artist who had the greatest influence over younger men decorating them.<sup>11</sup> The shape of two kyathoi in Würzburg and Milan (figs. 2a–b, 3), the only examples that have been firmly attributed to him, is different from that of the kyathoi signed by Nikosthenes.<sup>12</sup> The rims of Psiax's kyathoi

9. *ABV*, 223, nos. 60–66; Hoppin, 189, 192, 209. The kyathoi of the Harrow Class (*Para*, 304) also have very angular profiles but look quite different from those signed by Nikosthenes.

10. The animal head attached to the handle of Prague 16.52 (*ABV*, 223.63; J. Frel, *Řecké Vázy* [Prague, 1956], fig. 26) is alien (*Para*, 304). Whole animals or animal protomes could be attached to the summit of the handle of Etruscan bucchero kyathoi. Compare: *Gli Etruschi e Cerveteri*, ex. cat. (Milan, 1980), 185, no. 4 (bird), and *Galerie für alte Kunst, Fortuna*, sale cat. (Zürich, 1979), no. 4 (bovine head). See also supra, note 7.

11. *ABV*, 292–295, 338, 609, 674, and 692; *ARV*, 1, 6–8, 1617–1618; *Para*, 127–128, 305, 321; *BAdd*, 38, 72.

12. Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli 482 (*ABV*, 293.15) and Würzburg 436 (*ABV*, 294.16).



Figure 3. White-ground kyathos attributed to Psiax. Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli 482. Photo: Courtesy Museo Poldi Pezzoli.

are patterned, and their handles are elaborately decorated. Although they follow Nikosthenes' chronologically, they look like a new form rather than a direct descendant.<sup>13</sup> They are also white-ground.<sup>14</sup> Although this technique was not new to the Athenian Kerameikos,<sup>15</sup> it was only now establishing itself firmly, possibly predominantly in the workshop of Nikosthenes,<sup>16</sup> who made and signed two white-ground oinochoai with molded heads attached to their necks.<sup>17</sup>

The Getty kyathos is white-ground, and like Psiax's kyathoi, it has a pattern around the outside of the rim and a molded head at the join of the handle to the mouth. The technical quality is high, the shape is well fashioned, and the white slip was expertly applied. The incision on the black silhouette is even, and the colors have been carefully and tastefully added both to the figure decoration and to the molded female head. Quality and polychromy attract our attention and win our appreciation. The kyathos might have belonged to a symposiast who liked to have a pretty girl to accompany his drinking.

Although the foot, much of the handle, and parts of the

bowl are missing, the shape can be reconstructed on the basis of the profile of the low broad bowl whose thin walls have only a slight curvature.<sup>18</sup> They are not straight like those of the kyathoi signed by Nikosthenes, nor are they sinuously curving like those of the kyathoi painted by Psiax. The shape of the bowl is most like that of a number of kyathoi that are here called 'early' to distinguish them from the earliest, made and signed by Nikosthenes, and from the most common later forms, which seem to have been influenced by Psiax.

Most of the "early" kyathoi have black figures on red ground.<sup>19</sup> There are, however, some that are wholly black, apart from a band around the outside of the mouth rim, which is either reserved with the pattern painted in black<sup>20</sup> or black with decoration in added colors.<sup>21</sup> There is also at least one example decorated in Six's technique<sup>22</sup>—an unusual and never very popular technique, which was exploited at this time by some members of Nikosthenes' workshop<sup>23</sup> and by Psiax.<sup>24</sup> The foot of some of these "early" kyathoi is an inverted echinus like the one restored for our vase. The handle is entirely black, but it is embel-

13. Shapes of Attic kyathoi have been extensively studied by Eisman (Eisman, 18–21 and *ibid.*, *Archaeology* 28 [1975], 78).

14. In Miss Richter's publication of the Milan kyathos (*AJA* 45 [1941], 587–589) she records that the light in the gallery had been poor and that she had been unable to examine the vase personally. Some technical features had made me wonder if it was in fact a white-ground kyathos and not a red-ground. I should like to thank Drs. A. Molino and G. Arrigoni for confirming that the kyathos is indeed white-ground.

15. The earliest attested use of the technique in Attica is the pattern-band surrounding the exterior of the mouth rim of Nearchos' signed kantharos found on the Akropolis: Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Collection 611; *ABV*, 82.1; *ABFH*, fig. 49.

16. Mertens (33–35) favors the workshop in which Andokides was active, as do Cohen (45–53, 120, 153–157) and Dietrich von Bothmer (*BMA* [February 1966], 207). Dyfri Williams, however (*JbBerlMus* 24 [1982], 26), supports the claim of Nikosthenes. See also Kurtz, 12.

17. Louvre F 117 and 116; *ABV*, 230, nos. 1–2; Hoppin, 254–255; Mertens, 31–33; Williams (*supra*, note 16), 26–27.

18. Height to rim (as restored): 6.88 cm. Height to handle (as preserved): 9.63 cm. Maximum diameter of bowl: 9.5 cm. Sixteen fragments (77.AE.102) comprise the body and handle portions with the molded female head. Three fragments that were acquired subsequently (78.AE.5) give additional portions of the handle and the body of cock. L. Herbert Cahn had already determined that the cock fragment (then in his possession) did not belong to the fragmentary kyathos now in Heidelberg (and previously in Amsterdam) illustrated here in figure 5. See *infra*, note 36.

19. Beazley attributed three to the Painter of Vatican 480 (*ABV*, 609; *Para*, 304). The mouth rims of these kyathoi are undecorated, and there are fine lines encircling the bowl beneath the frieze of figures. The handles are surmounted by a knob and embellished with a raised central ridge that terminates in a rounded ivy leaf, which has two tiny "rivet holes" above. The kyathos once in Castle Ashby (now owned by Mr. Kallimanopoulos) can serve as an example: *CVA* Castle Ashby, pl. 24. 1–3. Beazley compared these three kyathoi with two which are painted black (see *infra*, note 20) and another decorated in Six's technique (see

*infra*, note 22). To these can be added a fragmentary kyathos in the Vatican (2371a–d; *RendPontAcc* 50 [1977/78], 262 and 267, fig. 57).

Eisman (*AJA* 77 [1973], 71) compared two more kyathoi with those assigned to the Painter of Vatican 480: Louvre F 163 and Munich 1961. Louvre F 163 features a centaur between large eyes that are rimmed in white paint. The addition of the large eyes might place this vase better with other "early" kyathoi than with those by the Painter of Vatican 480. The shape of Munich 1961 (see *infra*, note 22) suggests that it is later.

Among unassigned "early" kyathoi with figures in friezes like those kyathoi by the Painter of Vatican 480 are several which introduce a band of ivy around the exterior of the mouth rim—for example, a kyathos in the Villa Giulia (no number) on which the name "Lydos" appears (Canciani, *AntK* 21 [1978], 17–22) and another, with a frieze of athletes, recently on the German market (Hamburg, Termer).

Other kyathoi of "early" shape replace the conical knob on the handle with a twisted spur and introduce large eyes which are sometimes rimmed in white paint. The examples cited here do not have a pattern-band around the mouth rim: once Castle Ashby (38. *CVA*, pl. 25.1–2) now Mr. Kallimanopoulos; Swiss private collection (woman running between large eyes, lions at the handles), by the same hand as the last; Maplewood, Mr. Noble (Dionysiac procession between large eyes that are painted white and picked out in black paint). Louvre Cp 11054 may belong here, although Eisman (609–610 and *AJA* 77 [1973], 71) was inclined to place it near Psiax owing to the application of white ground. Kyathoi assigned to the Hanfmann Painter (see *infra*, note 31) are near the "early" shape and combine the twisted spur and rounded ivy leaf on the handle. They also have no patterns around the mouth rim.

20. Beazley (*ABV*, 609) compared two kyathoi in Munich (inv. nos. 1964 and 1963) with those by the Painter of Vatican 480 (see *supra*, note 19). Their simple scheme of decoration was attractive and probably produced in greater quantity than present published evidence suggests. The calyx-shaped bowl of Munich 1962 (*ABV*, 609.5) and the twisted spur and palmette on the handle, in the manner of later kyathoi, also suggest production over a period of time.

Attic kyathoi decorated in this way can resemble Etruscan bucchero kyathoi with incised patterns on the rim. Compare, for example: E.

lished with a knob or twisted spur at the summit, a raised central ridge, and a single pendent, rounded ivy leaf. The most popular pattern for the mouth rim is ivy, which is sacred to Dionysos, god of wine, and therefore appropriate to decoration of drinking vessels.<sup>25</sup>

Shape and general scheme of decoration link the Getty kyathos to the “early” kyathoi, but the white-ground technique and molded head attached to the handle remind us of Psiax, whose kyathoi have a calyx shape. The thin wall of the Getty bowl tapers toward the base with a gentle curve not unlike the calyx of a flower. The kyathos in Würzburg (figs. 2a–b) is more typical of finer late sixth- and early fifth-century kyathoi than is his kyathos in Milan (fig. 3), whose elaborate tooling and patterning are exceptional and without exact parallel. The latter looks like a special piece by an imaginative potter and painter.<sup>26</sup> The handles of both kyathoi are surmounted by a twisted spur. The spur, the raised central ridge to which it is attached, and the ornament in which it terminates are reserved against the black ground. The pendent ornament on the Würzburg vase is a palmette, which is standard on later

kyathoi with embellished handles. The angular ivy leaf in this position on the Milan vase is without exact parallel. Reservation of decorative features is new on kyathoi.<sup>27</sup> It focuses attention on contours of the handle that would show up more prominently on a metal vase. Reservation requires additional time and trouble and occurs only on a small number of finer kyathoi,<sup>28</sup> which also have molded heads like Psiax’s. The satyr head<sup>29</sup> on the kyathos in Milan is finer than the female head on the Würzburg kyathos. That female head resembles the one on the Getty kyathos, whose handle could also have had reserved embellishments. Finely incised lines on both sides of the front surface of the Getty kyathos run parallel to the edge about two mm below it—a feature of some Etruscan bucchero kyathoi.<sup>30</sup>

Although Beazley attributed kyathoi to painters, he left many in stylistic groups or unassigned. Michael Eisman has endeavored to distinguish new painters,<sup>31</sup> and one of these is the Hanfmann Painter. One of the kyathoi assigned to the Hanfmann Painter (*infra*, figs. 6a–c), his name piece, is white-ground. The shape of this painter’s kyathoi is similar to that of the Getty vase (although none has been pre-

Simon, *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum* (Mainz, 1982), 181, no. 114. See also Rasmussen (*supra*, note 7).

The scheme of decoration was, however, popular in Athens for vessels of other shapes. Among drinking vessels, compare black cups with ivied rims (e.g. Richmond 62.1.9; *Para*, 99; *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum* [Richmond, 1973], 84, no. 100); mastoi (e.g. Philadelphia, University Museum S 4862; Athens, Agora P 24556; Heidelberg, University S 23; *CVA* 4, pl. 165); and mastoids (e.g. Orvieto, Faina Collection 151 and Florence V 27, which belong to the Pistias Class [*ABV*, 627.ii.1–2] discussed *infra*, note 68).

21. Mertens (87) mentions two fragments from the Agora (A–P 1513 and 1656) that could have come from similar black kyathoi.

22. Beazley (*ABV*, 609) compared London B 696 with kyathoi by the Painter of Vatican 480 (*supra*, note 19). Eisman (102–104) compared Munich 1961 with kyathoi by that painter principally because of the unusual technique. It has the calyx-shaped bowl and handle with twisted spur and palmette of later kyathoi (see *supra*, note 20), which suggest continued production in the technique. Eisman (608) listed one other kyathos in genuine Six’s technique: Leningrad B4474.

23. Kurtz, 12, 116–120.

24. London 1900.6–11.1; *ABV*, 294.25; Kurtz, pl. 1.3.

25. Tom Carpenter draws my attention to Plut. *Mor.* 648E and Ath. xv, 675d.

26. Mertens, *AntK* 22 (1979), 27–28.

27. Reservation was selectively applied earlier, in Attica and elsewhere, to parts of the handles. The jug painted by Kleisophos (see *supra*, note 3) is an example, although it has clay snakes instead of molded heads. On metal prototypes see H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), 214 and n. 1. Some of the oinochoai decorated by the Painter of London B 620 (see *infra*, note 36) have partly reserved handles and some do not, but all have molded female heads attached to the upper and lower ends, which suggests that reservation and molded heads need not be combined. These oinochoai are roughly contemporary with Psiax’s kyathoi, as is an unusual, high-stemmed kantharos with molded female heads attached to the join of handle to mouth rim (interior). The kantharos was previously in the collection of Count Lagunillas and is now in the State Museum, Havana. R. Olmos is preparing a publication of the

Lagunillas vases.

28. The kyathoi in Milan and Würzburg seem to be models for examples known to me that belong near the Group of Vatican G 57 (see *infra*, note 49). Kyathoi with molded heads in this Group have black handles with twisted spur, median ridge, and pendent palmette. Those with reserved handle-decoration also have molded heads, and their standard of figure-drawing is above the average for the Group. Berkeley 8–2 (*CVA* California 1, pl. 173a–c) is unassigned, and the handle with partly reserved decoration does not belong to the kyathos to which it was added (*ibid.*, 26 and Eisman, 437). A white-ground kyathos in the Vatican (20721. *RendPontAcc* 50 [1977/78], 261–262 and 266, figs. 55–56) has a partly reserved handle and molded female head, ivied rim, and doves at the handle in a style reminiscent of Psiax. This fragmentary kyathos may be compared with another, also white-ground with ivied rim, in a private collection in Lugano (*Para*, 305; *MuM* 22 [1961], pl. 45, no. 144) which Beazley placed near the Group of Vatican G 57 (*Para*, 305). Eisman (*AJA* 77 [1973], 71) placed it near this Group and Psiax. Beazley had also compared the ivied rim of the Lugano kyathos with another red-ground example in Orvieto (293; *ABV*, 613.2) which is near the Group of Vatican G 57. The Orvieto kyathos’ handle is not preserved above the fine molded female head. The handle of the Lugano kyathos is said to have been restored (*MuM* 22 [1961], 76), and one wonders if it was not similarly decorated. Beazley compared the Orvieto head with the one on Psiax’s kyathos in Würzburg and with those on two kyathoi in the Group of Vatican G 57 (*ABV*, 611, nos. 2 and 5), whose handles have no reservation. The Orvieto head also resembles another on a red-ground kyathos in the Louvre (CA 3309; *AJA* 77 [1973], 71; *Revue des Arts* 4 [1954], 234, no. 21 and fig. 11) with partly reserved handle, ivied rim, and lively style of drawing not unrelated to that of our Malibu kyathos.

29. Eisman, 146. Satyr protomes on metal vases are discussed most recently by T. Weber, *Bronzekannen* (Frankfurt, 1983), 130–137 (with bibliography).

30. Compare Galerie für alte Kunst, *Fortuna*, sale cat. (Zürich, 1979), no. 4; Rasmussen (*supra*, note 7), 112–116.

31. *AJA* 77 (1973), 71–73. Hanfmann Painter: *AJA* 77 (1973), 71 and Eisman, 105–124.



Figure 4. Molded female head from a kyathos. Prague, National Gallery 16/52. Photo: Courtesy National Gallery.



Figure 5. Fragments of a white-ground kyathos. Heidelberg, Archaeological Institute (University of Heidelberg) 263 (incorporating Amsterdam 2162). Photo: Courtesy Archaeological Institute, Heidelberg.

served with a molded head), and cocks almost always stand at the handles. It is not, therefore, surprising that the Getty kyathos has been associated with him. We shall now look closely at the vase and try to determine whether it was painted by Psiax, the Hanfmann Painter, or by another artist.

The outside of the rim of the Getty kyathos has an unusual pattern: an embattlement with five tiny dots in the intervals, painted in black on the white ground between fine black lines. This pattern is not found on the “early” black-figure kyathoi<sup>32</sup> or, in this form, on Psiax’s. The pattern on his kyathoi in Milan and Würzburg is a simpler, visually bolder embattlement in which areas of light and dark are balanced. The dotted embattlement and the crossed embattlement, which differs from the preceding in the substitution of crosses for dots in the intervals, were possibly more common among painted architectural and woven textile patterns than preserved evidence suggests. On

Attic black-figure vases the dotted and crossed embattlements appear on articles of dress more often than in pattern-bands framing figure scenes.<sup>33</sup> They also appear on the costumes of the marble statues of maidens (korai) from the Athenian Akropolis.<sup>34</sup> An extremely fine clay female head in Prague (fig. 4)<sup>35</sup> was once attached to the handle of a kyathos. The woman wears a diadem, like the Akropolis maidens, decorated with a well-drawn embattlement with three dots in the intervals. An embattlement pattern with four dots in the intervals was carefully executed at about this time by the Painter of London B 620 on a white-ground oinochoe.<sup>36</sup> These oinochoai may have been made in the workshop of Nikosthenes, and like his signed oinochoai, they are white-ground with molded clay heads.<sup>37</sup> The painter’s embattlement has invited comparison with the one on the Getty kyathos, but its execution is much finer. The figure style of the painter also looks different: he likes animal studies, which he renders very sensitively, and

1. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, 1969.15 (figs. 6a–c).

2. Heidelberg, University S 50; *CVA* 1, pl. 41.4.

3. American private collection; Eisman, pls. 7–8.

4. Toledo (Ohio) Museum of Art 66.110; *CVA* 1, pl. 30.

5. Munich 1943; *Archaeology* 28 (1975), 76 (part).

6. London B 465.

32. They usually have a band of ivy (see supra, note 19).

33. Costumes on the François Vase (Florence 4209; *ABV*, 76.1; *ABFH*, fig. 46) indicate that the patterns were well established in textiles before the middle of the sixth century. See P. Cecchetti, *StMisc* 19 (1971/72), pls. 11–19. The pattern can also be found on vases contemporary with the Getty kyathos, e.g., the dress of an unusual winged Athena on a skyphos in Orvieto (Faina Collection; *RömMitt* 12 [1897], pl. 12). The style of drawing invites comparisons with Berlin 2092 (*ABV*, 610.1; Eisman, pl. 13).

The patterns can border red-ground black figures (as on Akropolis plaque 2526; O. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* [Berlin, 1925], 246 and pl. 104), but in the period of the Getty kyathos

they are more common on white ground; cf. an alabastron in London (see infra, note 69) and a kyathos in Leningrad (see infra, note 36). See also Mertens, 81.

In addition to these embattlements with dots or dotted crosses (usually saltire), there are examples with crosses and squares alternating in the intervals; cf. Agora 1656a–b (see supra, note 21). Others have squares in the intervals which are crossed (Saint George cross) and dotted. Cf. a white-ground diadem of a female head vase from the Akropolis (1062; E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* [Berlin, 1933], 96 and pl. 83). The established tradition of the pattern is attested from, for example, dress-patterns on a “Melian” amphora (G. Richter, *Korai* [London, 1968], pl. x–d).

34. Richter (supra, note 33), 100–101, no. 181 and 102, no. 183. The simple embattlement also occurs: cf. *ibid.*, 74–75, nos. 116–117.

35. Prague, National Gallery, 16/52; J. Frel (supra, note 10), figs. 27–28.

36. Leipzig T 428, frags. *ABV*, 434.5; *CVA* 2, pl. 39.1–2. Painter of London B 620: *ABV*, 434 and 697; *Para*, 187; *BAdd*, 54; Mertens, 85–87.

his human figures have high-set, rather small eyes, which impart a somewhat sad expression. The Getty pattern is, however, closely paralleled on fragments of a white-ground kyathos in Heidelberg<sup>38</sup> (fig. 5), which must have been painted by the same artist.

Large eyes frame the central figure on the Getty kyathos and set him apart from the subsidiary figures at the handles. Large eyes do not appear on the very earliest kyathoi, nor are they common on the "early" examples, which seemed to prefer figures in friezes. Psiax's kyathos in Milan (fig. 3) preserves the frieze style, whereas the kyathos in Würzburg (figs. 2a–b) displays figures between eyes and figures at the handles in the manner of later kyathoi. Large eyes had been popular on drinking vessels for some time. Their shape and coloration changed both over the years and from workshop to workshop. The eyes themselves can, therefore, help to place a vase stylistically.<sup>39</sup>

The eyes on the Getty kyathos are incompletely preserved. We cannot be certain how many rings there were, nor how they were colored, but their shape can be reconstructed. The eyes are relatively small and elongated. The outer corners point upward, and the lachrymal ducts are long and curving. The outlines are strongly curved, and the eyes are rimmed in white paint. The application of a "second white" to the white ground is unusual.<sup>40</sup> The outer ring of the eye is painted red. The next ring, of equal size, is painted white. Judging from the shape and coloration of the eyes (as preserved), we may assume that there was a large central black area with a tiny red-dot pupil. This type of eye is not uncommon in Attic black-figure.<sup>41</sup> Compare those on the Würzburg kyathos (which are not, however, rimmed in white; "second white" is as yet unknown in Psiax's work<sup>42</sup>) and those on Psiax's red-figure cups in Cleveland<sup>43</sup> and Munich.<sup>44</sup> Then contrast the shape and coloration of the eyes on the bilingual cups that bear Psiax's name without a verb<sup>45</sup> and on his black-

figure mask-amphora in Copenhagen:<sup>46</sup> those are much rounder and have a large red pupil. Not all vases with a tiny-pupil eye are earlier than those with a large-pupil eye,<sup>47</sup> but the latter type is prevalent on kyathoi associated with the followers of Psiax.

The Hanfmann Painter uses the black-figure type of eye and sometimes rims it with white on red ground.<sup>48</sup> The tendency to rim the eye on white or red ground can also be observed in the Group of Vatican G 57,<sup>49</sup> whose artists seemed to like added white for a variety of details. Although little remains of the white-ground kyathos in Heidelberg (fig. 5), there is enough to determine that the large eyes were rimmed in white and that they turned upward at the outer corners like those on the Getty kyathos.

The cocks at the handles of the Getty kyathos (figs. 1b–d) are rendered in as much detail as the dressed komast who is framed by the large eyes. They too, therefore, can provide good material for comparisons and possible attribution. Cocks<sup>50</sup> were popular on drinking vessels, possibly because they were favored gifts between men and boys. A cock is being exchanged on a kyathos that Eisman assigned to the Hanfmann Painter: the lovers stand between large eyes, and large cocks stand at the handles.<sup>51</sup> Winged figures—birds of various species and composite winged creatures, such as sirens, sphinxes, pegasoi, and hippalektryons—were very popular handle-figures on kyathoi, probably because wings are excellent space fillers, and plumage can be very colorful. The cocks on the Getty kyathos are among the most detailed and colorful on Attic black-figure vases. The white ground has given the painter an extra dimension, and he has been generous in his application of white and red paint. The long, thin tendril that rises behind the cock, loops gracefully, and terminates in a pendent blossom (here with incised petals) can be considered part of the cock motif.<sup>52</sup> It is included by Attic and non-

Beazley (*ABV*, 697) compared the pattern-work on kyathoi in Leningrad (B4473, ex Botkin; Mertens, 82 and pl. 12.1) and Heidelberg (University 263; our fig. 5) with that of the Leipzig oinochoe. Mertens (82 and vi) tentatively retained the association of the vases with the painter. The attribution of the Heidelberg (and joining Amsterdam) fragment to the Painter of London B 620 (*BABesch* 50 [1975], 164, 176, fig. 20) is based on a misunderstanding of Beazley's comments on the pattern-work. The best comparison for the Getty komast in the work of the Painter of London B 620 is Peleus on the name vase in London: *ABV*, 434.1; *LIMC* 1, pl. 59 (Achilleus 27).

37. R. V. Nicholls has kindly drawn my attention to the relation between the molded heads on these oinochoai and those on a large group of archaic terracotta statuettes. Broadly speaking the heads on the oinochoai have less detail than those on the kyathoi and give the appearance of veiled faces. See *infra*, notes 71 and 78.

38. See *supra*, note 36.

39. Cohen, 240–522 ("eye cups").

40. C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (Paris, 1936), 88–89,

173; Mertens, 59; Mertens, *MMAJ* 9 (1974), 93; Kurtz, 28–29, 44–54.

41. Cohen, 247, 250, 275.

42. Mertens, 35–40; Kurtz, 9–12.

43. Cleveland (Ohio) 76.89; *ARV*, 7.7; W. Moon and L. Berge, *Greek Vase Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago, 1979), 104–105.

44. Munich 2587; *ARV*, 7.8; *Jb* 10 (1895), pl. 4.

45. New York 14.146.2; *ARV*, 9.1; G. M. A. Richter, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven, 1936), pls. 2.2 and 8.2. Munich 2603; *ARV*, 9.2; *AJA* 10 (1895), 487–488 and pl. 22.

46. Copenhagen 4759; *ABV*, 293.6; *CVA* 3, pl. 107.1.

47. Cohen, 294, 307, 317, 329, 342, 371, 388 (eye types on red-figure cups).

48. See *supra*, note 31, nos. 4 (Toledo 66.110) and 5 (Munich 1943).

49. *ABV*, 610–613, 711; *Para*, 305; *BAdd*, 68; Mertens, 82–83.

50. *MuM* 34 (1969), 35–36 (with bibliography).

51. Toledo 66.110. See *supra*, note 31.

52. *BSR* 11 (1929), 14 (Beazley).





Figure 6a–b. White-ground kyathos attributed to the Hanfmann Painter. Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg Art Museum 1969.15. A supporter of Sardis in recognition of Mrs. Ilse Hanfmann and eleven seasons of hospitality. Photos: Courtesy Fogg Art Museum.

Attic painters and was probably inspired by the cock's long, thin sickle feathers, which rise above his back in gentle curves.

The Getty cocks (figs. 1b–d) and their accompanying florals are incompletely preserved. The cock to the left of the handle (cock L) was made nearly complete by the incorporation of a fragment previously in the possession of Herbert Cahn.<sup>53</sup> Only the form of the feet is uncertain. The eye and beak are defined by incision. The comb and wattle are picked out in red, and the points and blade of the comb are rendered with considerable care. The neck is well-proportioned, and the throat has a strong, convex curve. The hackle is dotted white, and its feathers are indicated below in incised (pendent) points. Three layers of short wing feathers comprise the covert. Each feather is outlined with incision and picked out with a dot of red paint. There were apparently two layers of long flight feathers, and these were set apart from the covert by a scalloped line of incision, which was also embellished with white paint. There were four or five long saddle feathers, and each was fully outlined with incision. The two long sickle feathers were painted in black. The tail feathers are in two layers, set apart by a scalloped line of incision. The tail feathers of cock L were alternately painted red, those of

cock R white. Both face the handle and direct their colorful tail plumage toward the front of the vase.

Cocks also faced the handle on the white-ground kyathos in Heidelberg (fig. 5), whose dotted embattlement and white-rimmed eyes have already been compared with those on our kyathos. Only one cock (R) has been preserved. He has a large round eye, with a second ring of incision defining the pupil and an additional line of incision at the outer corner. His beak is incised. His comb and wattle are red, and his hackle is dotted white. His plumage, as preserved, is very like the Getty cocks', apart from the definition of the saddle feathers in white paint. The cocks were certainly painted by the same hand as those on the Getty kyathos, and they are among the earliest examples of a type of handle-figure that is popular on later kyathoi.

The Hanfmann Painter's cocks (figs. 6a, c) are also early. Perhaps he or the painter of the Getty kyathos introduced them to the shape, and perhaps he is the painter of the Getty kyathos. If he is, the cocks on his kyathoi ought to look like those on the Getty vase. Superficially they do, but close inspection of the Fogg kyathos reveals distinctive stylizations that do not appear on the kyathoi in Malibu (figs. 1b–d) or in Heidelberg (fig. 5). For example, the outer ring of incision defining the eye has an elliptical line added

53. See *supra*, note 18.

54. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum 1969.15; *AJA* 77 (1973), 71.

55. Eisman (*AJA* 77 [1973], 71) assigns four kyathoi to the painter that seem to be more closely related to each other than they are to the

two kyathoi that he assigns to the painter as late works: Toledo 66.110 and London B 465. All of the kyathoi have twisted spur and rounded ivy leaf on the handle, except London B 465 whose handle, as well as molded head, may be alien. The large eyes on Toledo 66.110 and on





Figure 6c. Side of kyathos, figures 6a–b.

to the outer corner. The Hanfmann Painter must have liked this detail, for he gave it to Dionysos on his name vase (fig. 6b) in the Fogg Museum.<sup>54</sup> The hackles of the Fogg cocks are short and fringed both above and below, in contrast to the more naturalistic rendering on the Malibu and Heidelberg kyathoi.

Another distinctive feature is the elliptical wing with a chevronlike formation (Fogg cock L) setting off the short feathers of the covert from the long flight feathers. This seems to have been the Hanfmann Painter's favorite type of wing, but he knows other types, too, and one of them is also Psiax's favorite: Fogg cock R's wing covert has tiny arcs of incision, which give a feathery effect. A scalloped line of incision sets these feathers apart from the long flight feathers, and the outline of the wing posteriorly is scalloped. The saddle feathers of the Hanfmann Painter's cocks tend not to be shown individually but in a mass, which is fringed below with incision. The tail feathers are usually layered and colored. The legs are jointed and the shanks have long spurs. Unlike the Malibu and Heidelberg cocks, they regularly face forward, directing their plumage toward the handle. Although the rendering of the cocks on the kyathoi assigned to the Hanfmann Painter varies, a coherent style seems to emerge—one which stands apart

Munich 1943 are rimmed in white paint. Earlier Eisman (678–679) had left the London kyathos unassigned and had compared it with vases by the Theseus Painter.

56. Madrid 11.008. *ARV*, 7.2.



Figure 7. Detail from the red-figure panel of a bilingual amphora attributed to Psiax. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11.008. Photo: Courtesy Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

from that of the Malibu and Heidelberg kyathoi.<sup>55</sup>

Psiax painted at least one cock and several types of winged creatures. The cock (fig. 7) is miniature work. He appears as Ares' shield blazon, executed in black-figure in the red-figure panel of the bilingual amphora in Madrid, which was made and signed by Andokides.<sup>56</sup> Although the cock is ill preserved, we can be certain that he was very carefully drawn. He is delicately built, like Psiax's figures generally, and differently feathered from the cocks described so far. His hackle was apparently lightly stippled with incision and not fringed below. There are tiny arcs of incision on his wing covert and a scalloped line of incision between the covert and the flight feathers. The saddle feathers are outlined with incision. Since this figure is small and ill preserved, we need to look at Psiax's other birds and birdlike creatures to have a better idea about his style.

There is an owl on the black-figure amphora in Brescia.<sup>57</sup> It, too, is a shield device, but rendered in Six's technique. The shape and formation of the wing is like the little cock's. In the black-figure panel of the bilingual amphora in Munich,<sup>58</sup> there are also wings—on Hermes' boots. Unlike the wings described so far, these are spread and present a doubly curved profile. Their coverts have tiny arcs of incision. The flight feathers are graduated in size. The

57. Brescia, Museo Civico; *ABV*, 292.1; P. Arias, M. Hirmer, and B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (London, 1963), pls. 68 and xx.

58. Munich 2302; *ARV*, 6.1; *CV4* 4, pl. 153.



Figure 8. Detail of a red-ground kyathos “near” Psiax. Compiègne, Musée Vivenel 1073. Photo: Courtesy Musée Vivenel.

wings of the sphinxes on the Würzburg kyathos (fig. 2b)<sup>59</sup> must have looked like this, as do those of Pegasos on the exterior of the bilingual cup in New York,<sup>60</sup> which bears Psiax’s name without a verb. The ravens in the tondo of this cup have wing formations like the Brescia owl’s and like the phallus bird on a white-ground kyathos in Berlin, which is the name vase of the Group of Berlin 2095<sup>61</sup>—one of the groups that Beazley placed near Psiax. The body and tail feathers of the phallus bird are like the siren’s on a kyathos in Leningrad that Beazley also placed near Psiax.<sup>62</sup>

Another composite creature is the hippalektryon. He has the forepart of a horse and the body of a cock.<sup>63</sup> The hippalektryon on a kyathos in Compiègne that is “near” Psiax (fig. 8)<sup>64</sup> probably gives a fairly accurate picture of how

Psiax’s cocks would look when painted on a larger scale. Many more examples could be given, and they could be taken from other shapes too, but they would probably only confirm the widespread influence of Psiax and the different source on which the painter of the Getty kyathos seems to have drawn.<sup>65</sup>

The cocks on the Getty kyathos have provided good material for comparison. Even if they have not revealed who painted the kyathos, they have decreased the likelihood of this being either the Hanfmann Painter or Psiax. We must now turn to the dressed komast. He will be somewhat less helpful than the cocks for two reasons: (1) his costume is unusual, and it covers a significant part of the body; and (2) that part of his body which is exposed has

59. See supra, note 12. Some of the figures on the vase are restored: E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich, 1932), 82.

60. See supra, note 45.

61. Berlin 2095; *ABV*, 610.1; H. Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands*, vol. 3 (Dresden, 1928), 76.

62. Leningrad B415; *ABV*, 295.2.

63. Schauenburg, *AA* 1981, 338 n. 17.

64. Compiègne 1073. *ABV*, 295.2. This type of hippalektryon could have inspired the artist of an unusual bilingual cup in Mr. Noble’s collection (Maplewood): *ARV*, 159–160 and 1621; Cohen, 263–272 and pl. 53.3–5. Epiktetos’ red-figure hippalektryon on a plate once in Castle Ashby (*ARV*, 77.92; *CVA*, pl. 41.3) and now in the Metropolitan



Figure 9. White-ground plate attributed to Psiax. Basel, Antikenmuseum 421. Photo: Courtesy Antikenmuseum.

little anatomical detail. He seems to have a head that is too large for his body. This is partly due to the headdress, a mitra that is wrapped around it, and partly to the abundance of hair that projects from it at the crown. The hair is painted red, and the rendering of the strands at the crown recalls the cocks' combs. His beard is also red and very full; komasts dressed in this costume regularly have heavy beard growths, perhaps as an overt sign of masculinity to counter any idea the unsophisticated Athenian might have had about his Eastern dress being effeminate. His eye is large, low-set, and carefully incised, imparting a lively and alert expression. His nose is straight and slender. His short chiton has short sleeves in which the buttonholes have been drawn, although the buttons themselves were never added.

The "collar" of the chiton is white, and the hem is dotted white. The folds in the skirt are incised in broadly spaced, wiggly lines. He wears soft, red boots laced around the ankles and supplied with long tongues. There are no anatomical details in his upper limbs and few in the lower, although the lateral and medial aspects of the shanks have been distinguished, and in the medial the kneecap is defined by an open loop of incision. He carries a special type of lyre with swan-head terminals. The lyre and details of his dress are discussed in part two of this article.

Beazley's study<sup>66</sup> of the dressed komasts listed only one black-figure example—a white-ground plate in Basel (fig. 9) by Psiax.<sup>67</sup> This komast wears exceptionally rich clothing and carries a wonderfully elaborate lyre with long,

Museum, New York (1981.11.10), may also be compared.

65. For example, a red-ground kyathos once in Mr. Hattatt's collection (New Milton, Hampshire) on which Psiax's wing type is used both for the cock that stands between the large eyes and for the doves that fly toward the handle. A kyathos in Fiesole (Costantini collection; *CVA* 1, pl. 35.1) may have been painted by the same hand. The doves at the

handle of a fragmentary white-ground kyathos in the Vatican and those on another white-ground kyathos in Lugano (see *supra*, note 28) also reproduce Psiax's wing types.

66. CB, 58.

67. Basel, Antikenmuseum 421 (ex Käppeli); *ABV*, 294.21.

gracefully curved arms made of horn and terminating in well-defined swans' heads. He dances to the music of the double pipes played by a woman. His short-sleeved chiton reaches mid-calf, unlike the Getty komast's. His mitra is wreathed with ivy. His soft boots have no tongues, and he wears a short mantle like a shawl. In several respects the plate is unusual. It was probably painted at the time when the Ionian poet Anacreon was in Athens. Contemporary representations of famous mortal men are exceedingly rare in Athenian vase-painting, but it is tempting to see this plate as one of those rare examples.

The technique and iconography of the Basel plate make us think again about Psiax, yet the figure style of the Malibu kyathos does not seem to be his any more than the shape of the kyathos, its pattern-work, or its general scheme of decoration. The painter was surely influenced by Psiax, however, and may even have worked with him at some time, just as he may have worked with the Painter of London B 620 and the Hanfmann Painter. Like Psiax, he too may have been attracted to small, white-ground vases of unusual shapes, such as the mastos (or mastoid) and alabastron. A mastoid of the Pistias Class<sup>68</sup> in London<sup>69</sup> seems to have similarly stocky figures and some comparable renderings, second white, and incision that can be scratchy. An alabastron, also in London,<sup>70</sup> has dotted embattlement, rich polychromy, and lively maenads, who encircle the vase in pairs, wearing mitrai that are twice rendered like our komast's with luxuriant locks of hair projecting from the crown. A close examination of vases like these might reveal more clearly the identity of the painter of the Getty kyathos.

### *The Molded Female Head*

R. V. Nicholls is preparing a comprehensive study of Attic terracottas that will also take account of the molded clay heads attached to vases.<sup>71</sup> He has suggested that the

Malibu head belongs to the "Prague Group," which he names after the exceptionally fine head in Prague (fig. 4). In this Group he also includes the female heads on two red-ground calyciform kyathoi in Brussels and Rome. The Brussels kyathos<sup>72</sup> belongs to the Group of Vatican G 57, of which it may be a late member.<sup>73</sup> The kyathos in the Villa Giulia<sup>74</sup> is unassigned but is probably also to be counted among the later members of this Group.<sup>75</sup>

The Malibu lady's face is painted white. Her neck has been painted white too, and she may have worn a necklace. Her long, reddish brown hair is kept off her face by a red band with white dots. Three long, wavy tresses hang from behind each ear and over her imagined shoulders. Curls over her forehead are indicated by a single row of raised "dots." Her eyes and brows are picked out in the same color of paint as her hair. Her lips are not defined. She is a less elaborate version of the Prague lady, who has a triple row of curls over her forehead (like the satyr on Psiax's kyathos in Milan [fig. 3]), a fancy diadem, earrings, and eyes with both the iris and pupil painted in.

A definitive study of the Malibu head and its relation to others on Attic vases and terracotta statuettes must await Nicholls' publication. Here only general comments can be made. The quality of the head is nearly as good as that of the finest example known, the head in Prague (fig. 4). The shape of the kyathos, its technique, and elements of its decoration all suggest that the vase was made at about the same time as Psiax's. If the handle had been preserved more completely, the relation of the kyathos to those with partly reserved handle-decoration<sup>76</sup> would be clearer. The latter belong "near" the Group of Vatican G 57. They have molded female heads quite like the one on our vase<sup>77</sup> and testify to the very considerable influence of Psiax.

Clay heads, and occasionally full figures, had long been selectively applied to vases in Attica and elsewhere, but molded heads (predominantly female) became popular on

68. *ABV*, 627–628; *Para*, 309; *BAdd*, 68–69; Mertens, 89–95; Karydi, *AM* 77 (1962), 105–110; Mertens, *AntK* 22 (1979), 28–30.

69. London B 681; *Para*, 309; Mertens, 91–95 and pl. 13.2.

70. London B 669; Mertens, 99 and pl. 14.5.

71. Nicholls has mentioned the heads in previous publications: *BSA* 47 (1952), 217–226 and in *The Eye of Greece*, D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes, eds. (Cambridge, 1983), 93. Jiří Frel discussed the heads on kyathoi in *Sborník Národního musea v Praze*, vol. 13, no. 5 (1959), 235–236. Haspels (supra, note 40), 105 has compared the heads on some of the kyathoi with those on onoi from the Golonos Group (*ABV*, 481; *Para*, 220; *BAdd*, 59) which were probably mostly decorated by followers of Psiax. The heads on the onoi are not, however, closely related to those described here in connection with the Getty kyathos. Eisman (27, 153) lists and describes all the heads known to him.

R. V. Nicholls (personal communication, December 13, 1982) suggested the following tentative arrangement:

Prague Group  
A. Prague 16/52

B. Brussels R 267

Villa Giulia, Castellani 582

C. (or parallel variant of B?) Getty (figs. 1a–d)

Kanellopoulos Group

A. Kanellopoulos Mus. 546

Munich 2422 (red-figure hydria by Phintias)

Satyrs and Ladies Group

A. San Francisco L74.46.2

Compiègne 1071

Milan, Poldi Pezzoli 482 (fig. 3)

B. Würzburg 437

Munich 1986 (and restored on 1987)

C. Berkeley 8–2

D. Cambridge GR.9.1937

Probably near this Group, the following series:

Würzburg 436 (figs. 2a–b)

Orvieto 293

Oxford 1939.113

Nicholls provisionally lists Louvre F 164 as Kanellopoulos Group and

some Attic vases during the last decades of the sixth century when terracotta statuettes of a certain type began to be produced in quantity.<sup>78</sup> These statuettes are most often female. The molded facial features and hairstyles of some of the earliest examples are broadly comparable to the smaller heads attached to the handles of kyathoi.<sup>79</sup> The exceptionally fine modeling of the Prague head makes us think of the marble korai and of the series of head vases which also begins in Attica at about this time.<sup>80</sup> The addition of small molded heads to shapes that are known to have been prized in metal and to have been embellished with protomes,<sup>81</sup> reminds us that potters, coroplasts, and painters<sup>82</sup> could draw inspiration from contemporaries practicing other arts and crafts in Athens.

## PART TWO: THE BOON COMPANIONS

The classic study of the dressed komasts, commonly now associated with the stay in Athens of the Ionian poet Anacreon, was made by Beazley in his publication of the Boston vases in 1954. He declared the komasts to be men disguised as women and believed that where a figure plays a lyre or is alone, he is meant for Anacreon himself and that where there are more than one, they may be regarded as his "boon companions." The subject has been taken up since by various scholars.<sup>83</sup> I return to it, partly prompted by the Malibu kyathos and partly because a close inspection of the possibly relevant figures suggests that the association with Anacreon and his arrival in Athens may not be so straightforward and that there are other features that indicate a change in Athenian komast and symposiast behavior that is perhaps more important than the effect of a single Ionian immigrant. The representational evidence is full and best considered first without special reference to Anacreon. Indeed, reference to lines of Anacreon will be seen to have confused the issue no little. The starting point is Beazley's list (pp. 58–60). It was repeated, with additions, by Bran-

denburg.<sup>84</sup> The list which follows here is slightly longer and is given, as much as anything, for ease of reference in the discussion which follows and is probably still not complete. The main criterion has been to pick out the dressed komasts (or, rarely, symposiasts) wearing the full-length chiton (a short one on No. 2: fig. 11) with himation (none on Nos. 1, 2: figs. 10b, 11). I do not give full descriptions or references, but relevant extras are signaled (where verifiable) by the following key, and there is fuller discussion and description of some pieces later.

H = headdress (turban or related type)

E = earrings

P = parasol

B = boots

L = lyre (*barbiton*, unless otherwise stated)

The numbers on Beazley's list are given in parenthesis following the item numbers. The order is only roughly chronological. In the keys, colons divide figures, double colons the two sides of a vase.

1. Rhodes 12.200, black-figure amphora (figs. 10a–b). *ABV*, 115, 3, Lydan; *CVA* 1, pl. 19.2 (infra, note 93). (HB, sleeveless chiton : two youths).

2. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.102 and 78.AE.5, black-figure kyathos (figs. 1a–d, 11). (HBL, short chiton).

3.(1) Basel, Antikenmuseum, Käppeli 421, black-figure plate (fig. 9). *ABV*, 294, 21, and *Para*, 128, Psiax; *Kunstwerke der Antike*, ex. cat. of collection of Robert Käppeli (Basel, n.d.), D 3. (HBL : girl piper).

4. Kassel, Hessisches Landesmuseum A Lg 57, red-

Louvre CA 3309 (see supra, note 28) as near Satyrs and Ladies Group.

72. Brussels R267; *ABV*, 612.29; *CVA* 1, pl. 4.3a–c.

73. Eisman, 368.

74. Rome, Villa Giulia 582; P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani* (Rome, 1930), 306 and pl. 89.8–9.

75. Eisman, 631–632.

76. See supra, note 28.

77. Nicholls places them in or near his Satyrs and Ladies Group; see supra, note 71.

78. R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London, 1967), 72.

79. *The Eye of Greece* (see supra, note 71), 93.

80. *ARV*, 1529–1552; *Para*, 501–505; Beazley, *JHS* 49 (1929), 38–78.

81. See supra, notes 17 (oinochoai), 27 (oinochoai and kantharos), 28 (kyathoi), 29 (metal vases), 37 (oinochoai), 71 (kyathoi, onoi, and hydria). The heads cited here are usually female and only rarely male. There are also animal heads on Attic vases contemporary with the Getty kyathos. Cf. an exceptionally fine lion's head on an unusual white-ground hydria in the Petit Palais (310; *ABV*, 668, s.v. "Karystios"; *CVA*,

pl. 11) whose quality is equal to that of the Prague lady (here fig. 4) and vastly superior to that of the lions of the Class of the One-Handled Kantharoi (*ABV*, 346; *ABFH*, fig. 217).

82. Bothmer (*RA* 1972, 83–92), publishing a unique pair of stands of about 520 B.C. that are decorated in mixed techniques and embellished with molded female heads broadly comparable to those on some of the kyathoi, discusses the work of potters, painters, and coroplasts.

83. Notably: J. Frel, *Revue des Arts* 8 (1958), 202–208; H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra* (Münster, 1966); H. Kenner, *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt in der Griechisch-Römischen Antike* (Bonn, 1970), 113–116; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London, 1972), 54–55, 110, 116–117; A. Greifenhagen, *Alte Zeichnungen nach unbekannten griechischen Vasen* (Munich, 1976), 23–24; H. A. Shapiro, *AJA* 85 (1981), 138–140.

84. Brandenburg, 77–81.



Figure 10a. No. 1. Black-figure amphora, Lydan. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 12.200. Photo: Courtesy Archaeological Museum of Rhodes.



Figure 10b. Detail of amphora, figure 10a. Photo: author.

figure kalpis (fig. 12). *MuM Auktion* 51 (1975), no. 152, pl. 35, attributed to Nikoxenos Painter; Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Antikenabteilung, *Funde aus der Antike* (Kassel, 1981), no. 56. (H symposiast : youth).

5.(2) Copenhagen, National Museum 13365, red-figure calyx-krater fragments (figs. 13a–b; two fragments only). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 185, 32, and *Para*, 340, Kleophrades Painter; *CVA* 8, 259, pls. 331–333; *ARFH*, fig. 131. (HPL, also symposiast).

6.(3) Florence 3987, red-figure pelike. *CVA* 2, pl. 33.1–2. (HL, shoes :: Dionysos?).

7. Munich 2317, red-figure neck-amphora (fig. 14). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 226, 3, Eucharides Painter; *CVA* 5, pls. 211.9, 212.2. (HL :: similarly dressed girl with *barbiton*).

8.(5) Munich 2326, red-figure neck-amphora. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 273, 18, Harrow Painter; *CVA* 2, pls. 55.1, 56.5. (HP).

9.(4) Paris G 220, red-figure amphora (figs. 15 a–b). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 280, 11 and *Para*, 354, Flying-Angel Painter; *CVA* 6, pl. 42.3–4; *Revue des Arts* 8 (1958), 202, 207–208, figs. 1,

5, 6; *ARFH*, fig. 178. (L, tied headcloth :: HPB).

10.(6) Madrid 11.009, red-figure stamnos (fig. 16). *CVA* 2, pls. 6–8. (Eight figures—P, tied headcloth : HPL : HP : P, tied headcloth :: HP : HP : HP : H).

11. Rome, Conservatori, red-figure pelike. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 283, 4, Painter of Louvre G 238; *CVA* Musei Capitolini, 2, pl. 22.1–2. (HBL : two girls).

12.(7 = 28?) Formerly Rome, Cippico, red-figure stamnos. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 291, 25, Tyszkiewicz Painter; *AA* 1977, 209–210, fig. 12. (Tied headcloth, P [twice] : girl with *barbiton* :: P : man : girl with *kithara*).

13.(8) Paris, Petit Palais 336, white-ground lekythos. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 305, 1, Painter of Petit Palais 336; *CVA*, pl. 33.3 (the woman on 335, pl. 33.2 is similarly dressed). (HB?).

14.(9) Paris G 286, red-figure cup (fig. 17). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 443, 229, Douris. (H).

15.(10) Munich 2647, red-figure cup (fig. 18). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>,

438, 132, Douris; *JdI* 31 (1916), pl. 3. (H : man).

16.(11) Brussels R 332, red-figure cup (fig. 19). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 380, 169, Brygos Painter; *CVA* 1, pl. 1.2. (Tied headcloth, B).

17.(12) Paris G 285, red-figure cup (fig. 20). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 380, 170, Brygos Painter; C. Lenormant and J. de Witte, *Elite des monuments céramographiques* (Paris, 1844–1861), vol. 4, pl. 93; E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* (Paris, 1897–1922), pl. 134; M. Wegner, *Der Brygosmaler* (Berlin, 1973), pl. 37b. (HPB).

18. Paris C 10813, red-figure skyphos (figs. 21a–b). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 381, 175, Brygos Painter (very late). (Tied headcloth, L : girl).

19. Basel, Cahn 60, red-figure cup. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 414, 30 and *Para*, 372, Dokimasia Painter; Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich, *Das Tier in der Antike*, ex. cat. (Zurich, 1974), no. 259; *Dionysos, Griechische Antiken*, ex. cat. (Ingelheim am Rhein, 1965), no. 71, pl. 7. (HE, lyre).

20. Malibu, the J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.293, red-figure cup (figs. 22a–b). *Para*, 372, 8 bis, Briseis Painter; Helmut May, ed., *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, ex. cat. (Cologne, 1968), A 33, pls. 14–15; Wegner (supra, No. 17), pl. 26d. (Three times H, shoes : girl piper : girl with P : girl :: three times H, shoes : girl piper : girl with P).

21. Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie, 56, red-figure lekythos. *CVA* 1, pl. 40.4. (HL).

22. Switzerland, private collection, red-figure pelike. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 184, 26, Kleophrades Painter (late). (HB : girl piper).

23.(13) Chiusi C 1836, red-figure cup. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 815, top 2, Painter of Philadelphia 2449; *CVA* 2, pl. 23. (HP and *krotala* : P : H :: man : HP : girl).

24. Malibu, the J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.386, red-figure cup fragment (fig. 23). “Follower of Douris” (Beazley). (H : girl with *barbiton*).

25.(14) Berlin 2351, red-figure neck-amphora. A. Greifenhagen, *Alte Zeichnungen nach unbekannten griechischen Vasen* (Munich, 1976), no. 12, figs. 19–20. (PBL).

26.(15) Mykonos, red-figure neck-amphora. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 508, mid 4, Aegisthus Painter manner; C. Dugas, *Les Vases attiques à figures rouges*. Exploration Archéologique de

Délos, vol. 21 (Paris, 1952), pls. 22, 24, no. 27. (HP : girl piper).

27. Zurich, Hirschmann G 56. H. Bloesch, ed., *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection* (Zurich, 1982), no. 36, Pan Painter (Isler). (HL).

28. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.102.7, red-figure pelike fragments, Pan Painter (Bothmer) (fig. 24). (H : H). See M. Robertson article, p. 71.

29.(16) Adria B 497, red-figure column-krater. *CVA* 1, pl. 5.5; G. Fogolari and B. M. Scarfi, *Adria Antica* (Venice, 1970), pl. 8.1. (HP : youth).

30.(16 bis) Athens, from Perachora, red-figure column-krater. (H :: H).

31. Tarquinia 682, red-figure column-krater fragment. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 583, below 1, undetermined early Mannerist. (L).

32.(17) Boston 13.199, red-figure lekythos. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 588, 73 and *Para*, 393, undetermined early Mannerist; CB, pl. 51.99; *ARFH*, fig. 334. (HL).

33.(21) Cleveland 26.549, red-figure column-krater (fig. 25). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 563, 9, Pig Painter; *CVA* 1, pls. 25.1, 26. (HEP : HEL : H).

34.(20) Rhodes 13.129, red-figure pelike (figs. 26a–b). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 564, 28, Pig Painter; *CVA* 1, pl. 3. (HL : girl :: H : H).

35.(18) Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Museum of Art 1959.125, red-figure column-krater. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 566, 3, Pig Painter manner; *CVA* Robinson 2, pls. 28, 28a. (HL).

36.(19) Athens, Agora P 7242, red-figure column-krater fragment. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 566, 4, Pig Painter manner. (L).

37. Adria B 248, red-figure amphora. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 571, 71, Painter of Leningrad; *CVA* 1, pl. 32. (H : HL).

38. Corinth CP 998, red-figure fragment. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 573, 14, Painter of Leningrad manner. (H).

39.(22) Vienna 770, red-figure column-krater (fig. 27). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 576, 33, Agrigento Painter; *CVA* 2, pl. 92.3. (HP : girl with lyre : H).

40.(23) Bologna 239, red-figure column-krater. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 532, 50, Alkimachos Painter; G. Pellegrini, *Catalogo dei vasi*



Figure 11. No. 2. Black-figure kyathos. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.102 and 78.AE.5. Diam. of rim: 9.5 cm.

*greci delle necropoli felsinee* (Bologna, 1912), 96. (HP : two men and girl with *barbiton*).

41.(24) Bologna 234, red-figure column-krater (fig. 28). *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 524, 20, Orchard Painter; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pl. 21.3. (HP : H : girl piper : HP).

42. Naples 3176, red-figure neck-amphora. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 638, 49, Providence Painter. (HL).

43. Dresden 323, red-figure pelike. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 665, 4, Ethiop Painter; *AZ*, 1865, pl. 194. (H, but not a komast?).

44.(25) London E 308, red-figure neck-amphora. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 673, 7, Zannoni Painter; *CVA* 5, pl. 55.2. (HL).

45.(26) Bari, red-figure column-krater. (Six times H, one with lyre).

46.(27) Palazzolo Acreide, red-figure column-krater?

Lenormant and de Witte (*supra*, No. 17), vol. 4, pl. 92. (HP : girl piper : HP).

The principal elements of the dress and equipment of these komasts can now be studied, one by one, before considering the ensemble in terms of komast behavior in Athens and of the possible role of Anacreon.

#### Headdress

The headdress of the komasts is perhaps their single most striking feature. It looks to us utterly feminine and has done much to sustain the argument that all these figures are deliberately transvestite. The truth, as usual, is a little more complex, and in its way, it brings us closer to a proper understanding of these figures. The headdresses have been studied in some detail by Brandenburg in his *Studien zur Mitra* (Münster, 1966), and I generally concur with his conclusions, but a slightly different though more summary presentation of the evidence is called for.

Since Brandenburg's identification of the mitra has been challenged by Tölle-Kastenbein,<sup>85</sup> it is probably safer to defer discussion of what word or words were used to describe the headdress that concerns us and to concentrate on the representations. We are dealing with a headdress that is wrapped and knotted around the hair—not a one-piece cap like the sakkos or kekryphalos. In the period of our illustrations, the mid-sixth to the mid-fifth century, and on the figures we are studying, it is a long strip of material commonly worn as a turban, passed around the head several times. Brandenburg's distinction between representations showing it tied in horizontal, parallel bands and those where the folds overlap and meet at an angle (his types b and a, respectively) seems of no very great importance. In these forms long back hair may escape between the overlapping folds at the back or crown of the head. The headdress can also be worn with a broad, foldless strip holding the back hair and the rest tied over the forehead and crown (commonly seen on women in the Classical period)—Brandenburg's type c. And it may be worn without completely covering the hair but bound like a fillet (which we may regard as normally narrower, often plumper or padded, and shorter) and tied toward the back or side with the long ends falling on or toward the shoulders—the typ-

85. In *RA* 1977, 23–36.

86. M. Roaf, *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4 (1974), 126–127, pl. 34.3 for the Lydian; and cf. K. de Vries, *Expedition* 15.4 (1973), 32–39; G. Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis* (Berlin, 1966), 63, figs. 6.6, 8, pls. 45–47, 49; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrischer neuassyrischer Darstellungen* (Kevelaer, 1975), 65, 67, 117, 189, 195, and 231 for relevant illustrations.

87. G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art* (London, 1959), 263, fig. 384.

88. J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio* (London, 1967), 161, fig. 108, no. 748, pl. 59 and for the date, p. 158. For the simpler form cf. J. Boardman and J. Hayes, *Tocra*, vol. 2 (London, 1973), pl. 14, no. 807. From Ionia it reaches Etruria: e.g., with *barbiton* too, on Louvre CA 6046 (J. G. Szilágyi, *Prospettiva* 24 [1981], 3, fig. 1 and p. 20 n. 24; komast-satyrs). And on Pontic vases, as London 1926. 6–28. 1 (L. Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter* [Copenhagen, 1976], pl. 47; komasts with perizomata). From Athens or Ionia it reaches Chalcidian black-figure as Reggio 1169 (A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1927],





Figure 12. No. 4. Red-figure kalpis by the Nikoxenos Painter. Kassel, Hessisches Landesmuseum A Lg 57. Photo: Courtesy Hessisches Landesmuseum.

ical headdress for Dionysos from the fifth century on (Brandenburg, 133–148). I call this a tied headcloth to distinguish it from the hair-concealing turban that concerns us most closely, but the basic material is probably the same. Examples from our catalogue are shown in figure 29.

As an eastern headdress the turban is well attested from India to Lydia (fig. 30), and in the period that we are studying, it is best shown on the Achaemenid monuments showing subject peoples.<sup>86</sup> Eastern monuments show it exclusively as a headdress for men, but in Anatolia a sixth-century fresco from Gordion shows a woman wearing one.<sup>87</sup>

It is the man's turban that is first depicted in Greek art. On the Chian komast chalices, which are probably to be

dated from the 570's to about 550, the figures commonly wear pointed caps, and an exceptionally well-drawn example (and one of the earliest) makes it clear that these caps were, or on occasion could be, turbans<sup>88</sup> (fig. 31.1).

In mainland Greece we meet the cap with parallel folds worn by a girl piper on a Spartan cup (but found in Samos<sup>89</sup>) (fig. 31.2) and on an Attic komast (fig. 31.3), both before about 560.<sup>90</sup> (Most Attic komasts are bare-headed.) A similar, finer cap is worn by a bearded head on a mid-century Droop cup.<sup>91</sup> There are some odd Attic komasts on another cup of about this date<sup>92</sup> who dance in chitons and wear caps, to whom we shall return, but their caps are one-piece, pointed or with lappets—probably eastern but nothing to do with our turbans. Next comes a

pl. 36 below: Polyxena). And at Velia the turban is seen on an ivory plaque (*Archaeological Reports for 1976–1977*, 48, fig. 4). In East Greece it is shown on coins of Knidos: H. A. Cahn, *Knidos* (Berlin, 1970), pls. 12.7–9, 16 (probably folded and not the cap of the type listed *infra*, note 97), 13.31, 33; 16.67. An early coin of Phocaea: E. Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1975), pl. 2.4. There is a turban on an East Greek (?) askos from Tarquinia: Szilágyi (*supra*), 2, figs. 1–2. For Laconia see next note.

89. Samos/Berlin: *AA* 1964, 563, fig. 31a; C. M. Stibbe, *Lakonische*

*Vasenmaler* (Amsterdam, 1972), pl. 58, Arkesilas Painter.

90. J. Boardman and J. Hayes, *Tocra*, vol. 1 (London, 1966), pl. 75, no. 1038.

91. Athens, private collection; *ABV*, 203, 2 Kallis Painter; E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 49 (1945), 438.

92. Amsterdam 3356; *ABV*, 66, 57, Heidelberg Painter; A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London, 1971), 20–21, I.8.

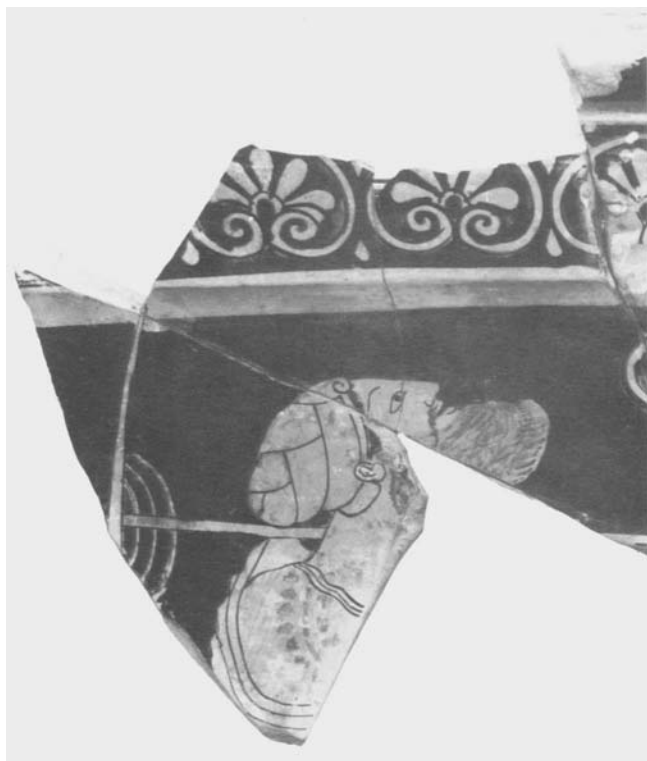


Figure 13a. No. 5. Red-figure calyx-krater fragments by the Kleophrades Painter. Copenhagen, National Museum 13365. Photo: Courtesy National Museum.

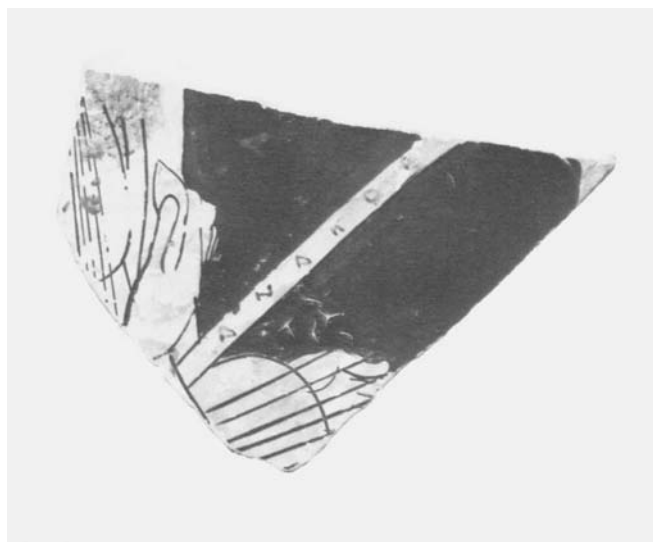


Figure 13b. Fragment of the Copenhagen calyx-krater, figure 13a.

figure (our No. 1, fig. 10b) on an amphora of unusual shape in Rhodes,<sup>93</sup> which is taken for Attic, though it would perhaps repay the inspection of a clay analyst.<sup>94</sup> On one side two naked youths, one with a *phorminx*, the other with a drinking horn, are accompanied by a man wearing a sleeveless chiton, the skirt of which he raises slightly to reveal boots (figs. 10a–b). He is wearing a turban of narrow folds bound close to his scalp. The vase is of about 540–530 and he may fairly be regarded as the first of our dressed komasts, but it is time to consider the relevant women's headdresses down to this date.

The caps worn by women on East Greek vases are not sufficiently detailed to reveal whether turbans are intended.<sup>95</sup> The evidence from Athens is very slight until the 520's. The best example, showing the parallel folds clearly, is on a "head lip-cup" in Munich of the middle of the century.<sup>96</sup> There is, however, a type of cap worn exclusively by women and shown on vases of the middle of the century or just after which is close fitting like a *kekryphalos* (hairnet) and often supplied with a small loop at the crown (like some male *piloi*) (see figs. 31.4–8). It may be decorated with all-over cross-hatching, but a vertical strip rising from ear to crown on some examples suggests that it could be stitched from segments.<sup>97</sup> Langlotz has suggested that the cap is of Lydian origin, which is possible. Something similar, but with a brim, appears on coins of Phocaea, but these are no earlier than the Athenian vases (fig. 31.10).<sup>98</sup> It is not a turban and is not worn by men; indeed, on a cup with several such caps for girls, a male head is turbaned.

From the 520's on the turban becomes really popular. Taking first its use by women, we see it worn in symposiac

93. Rhodes 12.200; *ABV*, 115, 3, Lydan; *Clara Rhodos*, vol. 4, 75, figs. 51–52; *CVA* 1, pl. 19.1–2. I follow Beazley (CB, pp. 9, 60) in denying this the title "psykter," rather than Bothmer (*ArtB* 57 [1975], 122). We use the word conventionally, and in antiquity it probably applied to a variety of vessels which served as coolers, whether made for the purpose or not. "Psykter" is best reserved for the mushroom-shaped vase, "eared" or "earless"; for which see now S. Drougou, *Der attische Psykter* (Würzburg, 1975), with 35–36 on the Rhodes vase. The Taleides oinochoe (Berlin 31131; *ABV*, 176, 2 and 670; *Para*, 73) has a similar profile to the lower wall. If, as seems likely, the profile indicates use for cooling, the fact that these vases are basically designed for the handling of wine may be an argument in favor of the similarly profiled psykter being used for wine rather than for the coolant (which Drougou prefers).

94. Its underfoot graffito is uninformative about origin: A. W. Johnston, *BSA* 70 (1975), 152, no. 36 and idem, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (Warminster, 1979), 36.

95. But cf. the Phocaeian coin cited supra, note 88.

96. Munich 2167; *ABV*, 677; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 252.

97. Examples are: Head lip-cups by Sakonides (Berlin 3152; *ABV*, 171, 13; A. Rumpf, *Sakonides* [Leipzig, 1937; Mainz, 1976], pl. 28c, f) and the Epitimos Painter (New York 25.78.4; *ABV*, 119, 9; *Para*, 48; *CVA* 2, pl. 10; M. Tiverios, *Ho Lydos kai to ergon tou* [Athens, 1976], pl. 60b). The Amazon on a Lydan fragment (Athens, Ker.; *ABV*, 107, 2; Tiverios [supra], pl. 75a) and a maenad on the New York Lydos krater (31.11.11;

or Dionysiac settings as well as (though less frequently) more sober occasions. At parties it may be worn by girl pipers or hetairai in various stages of undress, and it is seen on naked girls of uncertain status, dressing or at an altar. It is also worn by maenads. It may be worn by goddesses, and by mortal women fetching water at Athens' fountain houses.<sup>99</sup>

It is in these years too that we begin to see the sakkos, a somewhat looser headdress than the caps on mid-century black-figure representations just discussed, and often with a tail or point behind. Like the turban, it can be worn by heroines, maenads, hetairai, and housewives.<sup>100</sup> The male use of the turban from the 520's on brings us to the main group of the dressed komasts, but not exclusively to them, and there are other occurrences, individual and general, to be considered first. On a cup by Epiktetos of about 510 one of the sons of Eurytos, terrified by Herakles, is seen wearing a turban.<sup>101</sup> His brothers are bareheaded and unkempt, and they all wear knee-length chitons with animal skins. Olmos takes this exotic dress as oriental, but Oichalia, where Eurytos ruled, is no farther east than Euboea, and the turban simply recalls the symposion setting in which the challenge and dispute broke out, and which is prominent in vase representations of the event.

Then, on a Nikosthenes Painter kantharos of about 500, a reclining Dionysos is shown wearing a turban and himation only, and this is matched by a possible Dionysos on a black-figure skyphos.<sup>102</sup> Perhaps the only remarkable thing is that the divine patron of the symposion is not seen more often with the turban. In later art he commonly wears the tied fillet or headcloth.<sup>103</sup>



Figure 14. No. 7. Detail of red-figure neck-amphora by the Eucharides Painter. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2317. Photo: Courtesy Antikensammlungen.

Among komasts and symposiasts a wide variety of dress and undress is combined with the wearing of the turban, especially down to the early fifth century. Thereafter, the turban is mainly reserved for the dressed komast, and after the middle of the century the strip of cloth is no longer shown worn as a hair-covering by men, but as a tied headcloth. I cite representative examples only, until we reach the dressed komasts.

An early example of the turban at a symposion is on a cup in the manner of the Lysippides Painter of about 520,<sup>104</sup> where three men are turbaned (two others wreathed, and the sixth, a piper, bare-headed; all recline). There are other

*ABV*, 108, 5; Rumpf [supra], pl. 21). Maenads on the Kallis Painter cups, Naples Stg. 172 (*ABV*, 203, 1; *CVA* 1, pl. 21) and Athens, private collection (supra, note 91; with the turbaned male head). A woman at the loom on the New York lekythos by Amasis (31.11.10; *ABV*, 154, 57; *BSA* 37 [1936/37], pl. 6; *MonPiot* 60 [1976], 43, fig. 8). On a Tyrrhenian amphora, Bolligen, private collection (R. Blatter, *AW* 11.4 [1980], 13, fig. 1; attending a wedding). New York, Bothmer (*ABV*, 685, Painter of Vatican 309, 21 bis; a naked dancer). Eileithyia before Zeus on a belly amphora with the Birth of Athena in Basel (Tessin loan) attributed to Group E (K. Schefold, *Götter und Heroen* [Munich, 1978], 17, fig. 4). Hetairai at work: Akr. 1639, pl. 85, cup frag. (*ABV*, 198, below 2); Munich 1432, Tyrrhenian (*ABV*, 102, 98; *CVA* 7, pl. 318.1). On the Six phiale (*MuM Auktion* 26 [1963], no. 122, pl. 41) hair escapes, so it is probably not a closed cap.

98. E. Langlotz, *AM* 77 (1962), 115; idem (supra, note 88), pls. 2.14–16, cf. 13 (Knidos), 3.1; idem, *Die kulturelle und künstlerische Hellenisierung der Küsten des Mittelmeers durch die Stadt Phokaia* (Cologne, 1966), 24–25, figs. 12–14, 16; figs. 18, 21, of Massilia, are closer to the Attic type. For the Knidian coins see supra, note 88.

99. I cite illustrations that give a good sample: *ARFH* (red-figure of circa 530–500 B.C.), figs. 23 (nymph), 27 (hetaira), 34.2 (companion of Helen), 38.1 (hetaira), 55.2 (Aphrodite), 71 (hetaira), 75.2 (dancing girl), 107 (maenad?), 111 (maenads), 113 (maenad), 122 (naked girl at altar). *ABFH* (for black-figure down to the early fifth century), figs.

181 (maenad), 182 (girl piper), 235.1 (Ariadne), 271 (Eos). They are particularly common on Krokotan vases; cf. *JHS* 75 (1955), pls. 4.1, 5.1, 8.3, 15.8. At the fountain house, e.g., *CVA* London 6, pls. 88.4, 90.2 (B332, 334; *ABV*, 333, 27, Priam Painter and 365, 72, Leagran = better, *BSA* 36 [1935/36], pl. 22b). Both also in G. M. A. Richter, *Perspective* (London, 1970), figs. 122, 123, with fig. 120 (Boston 61.195; *Para*, 147, 5 bis, Priam Painter).

100. A sample in *ARFH* to the end of the century: figs. 5.3 (maenad), 9.1 (amazon), 56 and 61.1 (nereids), 62 (Atalanta), 109 (naked girl). One with a loop behind as on the earlier caps, on Toledo 61.23 (*Para*, 147, 5 ter, Priam Painter; *CVA* 1, pl. 23.2).

101. R. Olmos-Romera, *MadriMitt* 18 (1977), 145 on the dress; for the cup, pl. 35b (Palermo V 653; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 73, 30; *CVA* 1, pl. 5.1). I do not think either Herakles or Eurytos appear on the black-figure lekythos, *ibid.*, pl. 34c, where two archers with pointed caps draw on each other. Cf. also on the Eurytos cup, Brandenburg, 121–122. On a stamnos of about 480 (C. Isler-Kerenyi, *Stamnoi* [Lugano, 1977], 36–42) the sons wear longer, girded chitons and eastern caps.

102. Boston 00.334; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 126, 27; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 320; CB, 11–12, pl. 68. Laon 371001; *CVA* 1, pl. 24.7, 9.

103. Brandenburg, 133–148.

104. The Bomford cup, Oxford 1974.344; J. Boardman *AA* (1976), 285, figs. 6–8.



Figure 15a. No. 9. Red-figure amphora by the Flying-Angel Painter. Side A. Paris, Louvre G 220. Photo: Courtesy Musée du Louvre.



Figure 15b. Detail of amphora, figure 15a. Side B.

instances toward the end of the century, as on a Leagran stamnos in the Vatican.<sup>105</sup> Other dress is that customary for the occasion—himation only. The turban was preferred for the representation of the more vigorous, or at least upright, activity of the komast. On the Kleisophos oinochoe<sup>106</sup> the lively komasts are stark naked but for turbans and boots (for two of the five). No hint of the transsexual or feminine here, at any rate, and the naked, turbaned komasts remain quite common. The Krokotan vases favor naked men in turbans, walking or drinking in a vineyard.<sup>107</sup> There are komasts on the Perizoma Group vases wearing

only turbans and their customary loincloths.<sup>108</sup> Most turbaned komasts, however, wear only a short cloak around their shoulders, leaving the body bare<sup>109</sup> and they are often booted.

We come now to the komasts dressed in chitons. We met a forerunner on the unusual Rhodes vase of about 540–530 (No. 1, fig. 10b). Some twenty years later comes the figure on the Malibu kyathos (No. 2, fig. 11) with his short, tight chiton. And at about the same time we have the fine komast on Psiax's white-ground plate in Basel (No. 3, fig. 9), accompanied by a similarly turbaned girl piper. Nearer

105. Vatican 415; *ABV*, 388, 3, Group of Louvre F 314; C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* (Rome, 1925–1939), pl. 62. And, e.g., the Olto cup, Berlin 4221; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 61, 73; *CVA* 2, pl. 54.2, 3.

106. Athens 1045; *ABV*, 186; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 254; *CVA* 1, pl. 2.1–3.

107. E.g., *ABV*, 206, 8 and below 2 = Munich 2050 (*JHS* 75 [1955], pl. 11.4); and Heidelberg 277 (*ibid.*, pls. 4.1, 15.8; *ABFH*, fig. 182). Cf. Brandenburg, 81–82.

108. A specialty of the Beaune Painter: *ABV*, 344, 2–3 (Orvieto, Faina

58 and Oxford 1919.46; B. Philippaki, *The Attic Stamnos* [Oxford, 1967], pl. 10.1, 2) and 5 (Tarquinia 1749; L. Campus, *Ceramica attica a figure nere* [1981], no. 8, pl. 59).

109. Some examples: the black-figure tondo to Epiktetos' cup, Berlin 2100 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 71, 7; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 175; *CVA* 2, pl. 54.4); on the Nikosthenes Painter's cup, Paris G 4 bis (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 125, 16; *CVA* 19, pl. 74.1); the red-figure cup, Vienna 1777 (*CVA* 1, pl. 3.1); the Hegesiboulos Painter's name vase, New York 07.286.47 (side B; *ARV*, 175; G. M. A. Richter

the end of the century there is an exceptional example, in red-figure, of a dressed (chiton and himation) komast who has joined a symposion (No. 4, fig. 12). Now the main series begins with the Kleophrades Painter fragments (No. 5) on which we see again the full dress assumed at a symposion and, on the other side of the vase, for a komos with song. These seem the only examples of the turban and chiton for reclining symposiasts, and on No. 4 the association with the komos is immediate. The first quarter of the fifth century brings over a dozen further examples. I draw attention only to No. 7 (fig. 14) for the fine headdress arranged most like that worn by women; to No. 9 (figs. 15a–b) for its association with the tied headcloth; and to No. 10 (figs. 16, 29) for the variety of ways in which the long, multi-wrapped turban could be worn. With the dressed komast wearing a tied fillet on No. 9 we may compare the Brygos Painter's Alcaeus<sup>110</sup> or the figure with a broad, tied fillet (No. 16, fig. 19) on a cup by the same artist. On the Harrow Painter amphora (No. 8) the komast with a parasol is bareheaded. All are otherwise fully dressed.

In the second quarter of the century there are rather more examples, nearly half of them on Mannerist vases. The headdress is generally not so elaborately drawn (an exception is No. 38), but it is also possible that on some examples the turban has been replaced by the one-piece sakkos. This is not all that easy to distinguish from a more simply drawn turban, though the sakkos is more commonly patterned with dots. It might be a sakkos that appears in the 470's for dressed komasts by Douris and the Brygos Painter (Nos. 14, 15, 17, figs. 17, 18, 20), but they do not closely match those they give their women. Later, the Pig Painter's sakkoi seem more plausible (Nos. 33, 34, figs. 25, 26a–b), though again they do not closely match the headdress he gives women on his vases. On the other hand, the Agrigento Painter's male and female headdresses do resemble each other (No. 39, fig. 27). This is the first time that we may even suspect that this wholly feminine headgear has been worn by male komasts.

To summarize the representational evidence: the turban, an eastern headdress worn principally by men, comes to be worn during the sixth century in East Greece and the Greek mainland by women *and* by men—but then only as symposiasts or komasts. By the end of the century its special



Figure 16. No. 10. Red-figure stamnos. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11.009. Photo: Courtesy Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

male association is with dressed komasts, who exhibit other exotic features yet to be discussed, and this continues through the first half of the fifth century, when some of the dressed komasts apparently come to exchange it for the feminine sakkos.

We may now consider the name of this turban headdress. Brandenburg identified it as a *mitra*, and its early record in texts certainly matches closely the representational evidence. For easterners Herodotus names it as worn by Babylonians (i 195.1) and Kissioi (near Susa, vii 62.2), and the word itself may be of eastern origin (Brandenburg, 9–10).<sup>111</sup> In Greek texts it is often described as Lydian (ibid., 53, 57). We have seen Lydian men and a Lydian-period woman at Gordion wearing a turban, and both Alkman (frag. 1.67–68 Page) and Sappho (frag. 98.10–12 Lobel-Page: *μῆτρα*) have the *mitra* as a headdress for Lydian women. But it is also named as worn by men, notably athletes, orientals (especially priests), symposiasts and Dionysos himself, poets (e.g., Aristophanes names Anakreon, Alcaeus, and Ibycus [*Thesm.* 160–163]), and by Herakles and Achilles in their feminine moments with Omphale and the daughters

and L. F. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* [New Haven, 1936], pl. 10); the black-figure fragment from Selinus (Palermo; *ABV*, 676; *MonAnt* 32 [1927], pl. 92.9); the black-figure Pistias Class cup, once Hope 83 (*ABV*, 627, 6; Tillyard, *The Hope Vases* [New York, 1923], pl. 6), and another, Elvehjem Museum, Madison, Warren Moon, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago, 1980), no. 70. On the Haimon Painter's lekythos, New York 41.162.13 (*ABV*, 538, 1; *CVA Gallatin* 1, pl. 7.8) full-length himatia are worn. A

good naked, turbaned komast shouldering a *barbiton* on Munich 8703 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 1582, 1; F. Hauser, *JdI* 10 [1895], figure on p. 161).

110. Munich 2416; *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 385, 228; *ARFH*, fig. 261; E. Simon and M. and A. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich, 1976), pl. 150.

111. A full record of the turban in the east in Brandenburg, 111–127 and see *supra*, note 86. In Hesiod (frag. 1.4 West) it is already a woman's belt, but in Homer a piece of male protective dress (Brandenburg, part I).



Figure 17. No. 14. Red-figure cup by Douris. Paris, Louvre G 286. Photo: Courtesy Musée du Louvre.

of Lykomedes. Representational evidence makes clear that these figures did not all wear the mitra as a turban. The Dionysiac certainly wear it more often as a tied fillet or headcloth. Tölle-Kastenbein, who objects to Brandenburg's definition of the mitra, believes that it applies only to a *Kopfbinde* worn either as a knotted fillet or as a shorter, ornate, and often shaped (apparently stiffened) binding for the hair. That the long strip might be worn in this manner, as a tied headcloth, we have observed already: e.g. on our Nos. 9, 10, 12, 16, 18, or the Brygos Painter's Alcaeus.<sup>112</sup>

A possible explanation is that the mitra was at first the eastern headdress consisting of a strip of cloth worn as a turban. As such it was borrowed by the Greeks and worn not only as a turban but also as a looser hair binding (Brandenburg's type c) or simply as a tied headcloth (as it might also be in the east, fig. 30). There was no difficulty in transferring the term to the ordinary tied fillet, even when made of a shorter, narrower, even padded strip, especially once the fashion for the full turban was going out, in the first half of the fifth century. It would be wrong to



Figure 18. No. 15. Red-figure cup by Douris. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2647. Photo: Courtesy Antikensammlungen.

think that the word applied at all periods to a piece of cloth of the same shape and proportions or that it could be worn in only one way. Both the continuity and the many variations in practice in tying the hair can be readily observed in art, and there is no need to find a new word for every such variation. Consider the varieties of form which the word *kylix* must have served, or the word *amphoreus* where there was also variety of use. Our Greek *mitrephoros* wore a turban in the sixth century, preferred a tied headcloth or fillet in the fifth—like a Dionysos—while his female companion used her mitra still to cover more of her hair. Thus, the shape of the mitra certainly changed over time. The more we learn about Greek use of “technical” words for dress, utensils, or implements, the less precise that use proves to have been, and it would be a pity to exclude associations of words and representations through insisting on over-precise identifications.

#### Dress

With one or two exceptions, to be remarked in a

112. Supra, note 110. Other uses of the word, as for a belt (see supra, note 111), suggest something longer than a short hairband or fillet and

support identification with something loosely tied and with long ends when worn as a fillet.





Figure 19. No. 16. Red-figure cup by the Brygos Painter. Brussels, Musées Royaux R.332. Photo: Courtesy Musées Royaux.



Figure 20. No. 17. Red-figure cup by the Brygos Painter. Paris, Louvre G 285. Photo: Courtesy Musée du Louvre.



Figure 21a. No. 18. Red-figure skyphos by the Brygos Painter. Paris, Louvre C 10813. Photos: Courtesy Musée du Louvre.



Figure 21b. Side B of skyphos, Louvre C 10813.

moment, the criterion for identification of our dressed komasts has been the wearing of full-length chiton and himation. Most komasts of our period are naked or wear only a short cloak round their shoulders. The full chiton and himation is worn otherwise by women, by Dionysos, and by senior males of myth or contemporary society (where generally, to judge from the vases, the himation alone sufficed). Earlier, in the sixth century, chitons are shown commonly worn by men, not only in Athens, but also for instance on Corinthian vases. Thucydides (i 6.3) considered the chiton male dress of the recent past in Ionia and Athens.

Early in the sixth century the komast dancers of Corinth and Athens, if dressed at all, wore a close-fitting, short-sleeved tunic which was probably made up as a type of short chiton.<sup>113</sup> Nearer the middle of the century there are some unusual studies of dancers in longer dress, though the short komast chiton is still seen well into the second half of

the century. On a cup by the Heidelberg Painter, to which reference has already been made<sup>114</sup> for the odd headdresses of the dancers, the dress is shown to knee- and to ankle-length. And on a hydria of about the same date (circa 560), four men in long chitons dance to the piper, who wears a mini-chiton.<sup>115</sup> A comparable though tighter-fitting chiton is worn on the Malibu kyathos (No. 2, fig. 11). The male komasts in the chiton are generally described as men dressed as women,<sup>116</sup> but all that is really odd about them is that they are dressed at all, since the chiton is as proper dress for men as it is for women, and this is more true of representations from the first half of the sixth century than of those from the end of the century when Dionysos and the elderly are more often so favored. If there had been any serious attempt to show the men as women, the exclusively feminine dress, the peplos, would surely have been chosen. It was easier to dance in, being open along one side, and in representations the artist's intention would have been made

113. A. Greifenhagen, *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung* (Königsberg, 1929); A. Seeberg, *Corinthian komos vases* (London, 1971).

114. Above, p. 51, with note 92.

115. *MuM Auktion* 34 (1967), no. 121, pl. 31. I do not know what to make of the men in chitons with pointed caps and carrying snakes, on the strange and poor late black-figure skyphos, Paris F 410, but they

seem irrelevant here: A. Greifenhagen, *AA* 1978, 538, figs. 61–62.

116. E.g., T. B. L. Webster, *The Greek Chorus* (London, 1970), 14–15; Trendall and Webster (supra, note 92), 20. A later, chitonized chorus on a cup by the Sabouroff Painter (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 837, 10; *MuM Auktion* 56 [1980], no. 103; now Malibu, the J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.296).





Figures 22a-b. No. 20. Red-figure cup by the Briseis Painter. Above: side A; below: side B. D: 30.2 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.293.

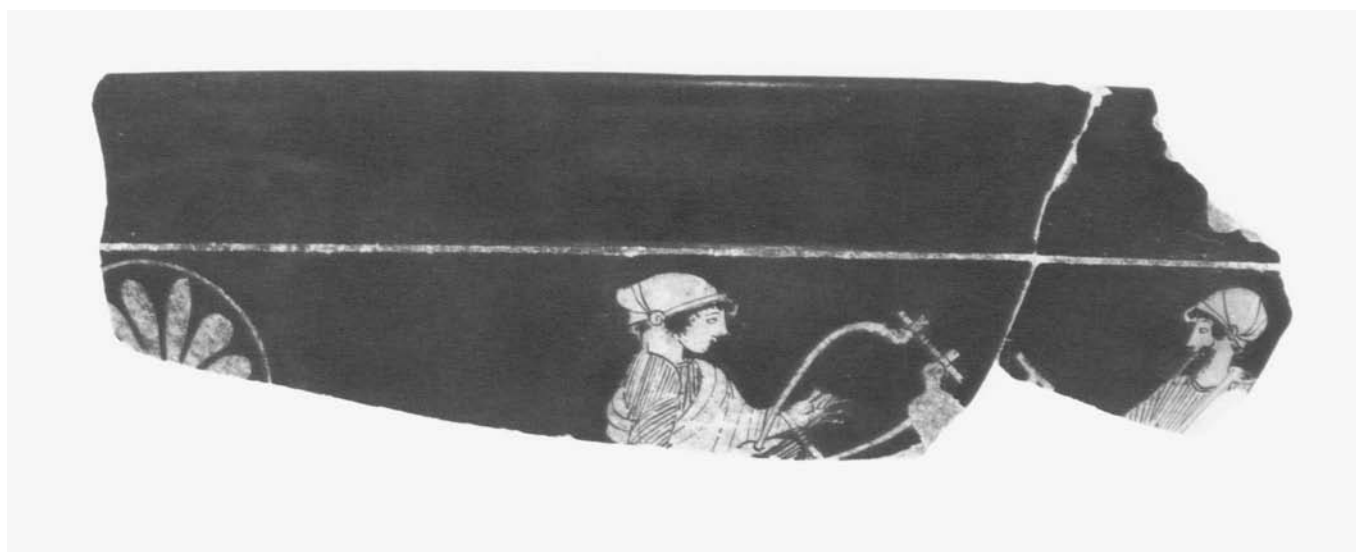


Figure 23. No. 24. Red-figure cup by a follower of Douris. Estimated D at shoulder: 21.6 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.386.

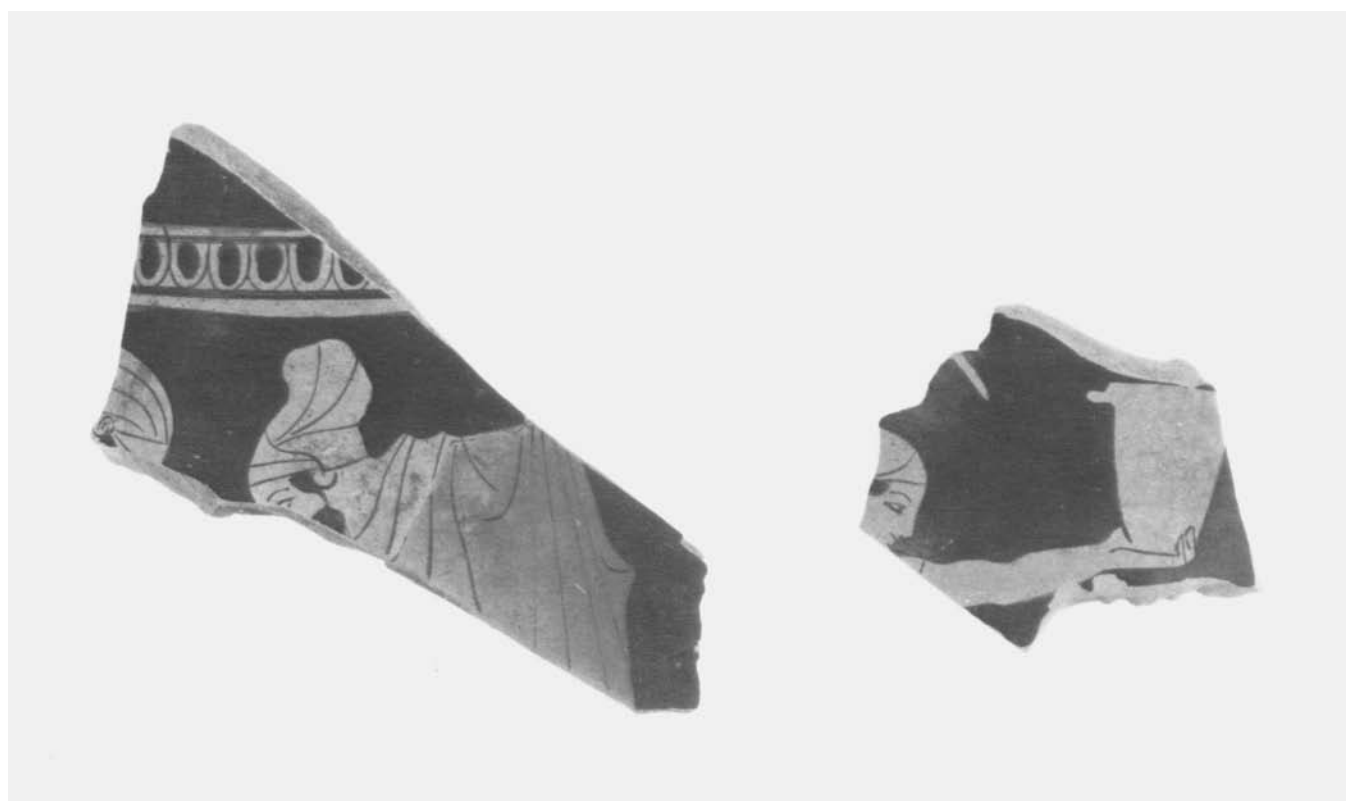


Figure 24. No. 28. Red-figure pelike fragments by the Pan Painter. Fragment a, L: 6.85 cm; fragment b, L: 4.1 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.102.29 and 76.AE.102.30.

more clear. That in one of the earliest examples of the long dress for komasts (the Heidelberg Painter cup) the head-dresses may be of eastern origin may not be without significance. In East Greece the chiton was even more favored for men, as witnessed by many vase paintings and the fact that the dressed kouros is, in sculpture, an East Greek speciality and not a mainland one. It was worn in Lydia too, and with the boots, as part of the “easy living” dress recommended by Kroisos (Hdt. i 155.5).

The only real point of difference between our dressed komasts and their predecessors is the fact that the earlier dressed dancers are performing in unison, or with recognizable and repeated steps or postures, to the music of pipes. They are making their contribution, no doubt, to the early history of the Greek theater and chorus. Our dressed komasts may dance but not in unison, and their interest is rather in song and the *barbiton*, though pipes are played too in many scenes. At any rate, by their time and in our only source of evidence—vase-paintings—the semiformal komast dances have disappeared, and the artists devote themselves rather to the conduct of the symposium and the reveling which accompanies it.

To summarize, we may say that our dressed komasts wear clothes which, in the fifth century, were more appropriate to women, senior citizens of life or myth, and Dionysos, but that they can be seen to be continuing a tradition in which the dress, especially favored by East Greek males and familiar too for men in mainland Greece, had also been worn by male dancers, and at a time when, if impersonation of women had been intended, the peplos would have been the obvious choice. None wore a peplos.

### Boots

Before the 520's komasts normally go barefoot. Once they are shod, the boots are rarely of the familiar, tight-fitting type with tongues to pull them on, but are soft, sometimes coming high up the calf with the tops often turned down or rolled. There are good examples of black-figure komasts in the tondi of cups by Oltos and Epiktetos, the latter also being turbaned.<sup>117</sup> On works by the Dikaïos Painter and, later, the Antiphon Painter, we can observe

them with the tops of their boots both turned down and left upright on the same vase.<sup>118</sup> Examples can easily be multiplied, and other varieties of boot observed—short ones on the Kleisophos oinochoe (supra, p. 54), with tongues on black-figure vases,<sup>119</sup> or tighter fitting<sup>120</sup>—these all for turbaned komasts. They are worn by girls, too, but only hetairai—otherwise naked.<sup>121</sup>

A high proportion of our dressed komasts, especially early, wear boots, and many are of the novel variety with rolled or downturned tops. There is little doubt that this is the *kothornos*, and several sources declare it of Lydian origin.<sup>122</sup> In Herodotos' story (i 155.5) Kroisos recommends it, with the chiton, as appropriately relaxed and degenerate costume for Cyrus to insist that Lydians wear, to deflect them from more warlike activity. And it was the soft, capacious *kothornos* that Alkmaion wore and was able to stuff with gold dust in Herodotos' account (vi 125) of Kroisos' generosity to him. These soft boots have a long history in Anatolia.

It may be that the word *kothornos* was applied also to some of the other varieties of soft boot observed on our komasts, and the special variety created for the stage in the fifth century<sup>123</sup> bears only superficial resemblance to its sixth-century predecessor.

### Earrings

On Nos. 19 and 33 (fig. 25) the dressed komasts wear earrings. In mainland Greece only women wore earrings, and pierced ears identified the eastern male; a Lydian in Xenophon, *Anab.* iii 1.31. The wearing of earrings by men in the non-Greek east is readily attested, nearest home in Lydia and Cyprus,<sup>124</sup> but Lydia has proved the source of other elements in our komasts' dress, and although by the time the earrings appear on our vases, it may have been difficult to take them as other than feminine; still, having been misled identifying the “purely feminine” in other items, we should consider whether these too might not have been part of the original male apparel of our dressed komast. Are they attested on men in those areas of the East Greek world which seem to have transmitted the mitra-turban? For a start, Anakreon's butt, Artemon, wore them,

117. Basel, Antikenmuseum, ex-Ludwig (ARV<sup>2</sup>, 55, 20 and *Para*, 326, Oltos; *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 1 [Basel, 1979], 91, no. 33). Berlin 2100 (supra, note 109). Cf. the skyphos near the Theseus Painter, Tarquinia 637 (*Para*, 259; CVA 1, pl. 18).

118. London E 767, red-figure psykter; ARV<sup>2</sup>, 31, 6 Dikaïos Painter; CVA 6, pl. 104, la, c. New York, Schimmel, red-figure cup; *Para*, 362, Antiphon Painter; O. W. Muscarella, ed., *Ancient Art in the Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz, 1974), no. 61.

119. Munich 3050, black-figure cup; ABV, 206, 8, Krokotan; JHS 75 (1955), pl. 11.4. As worn by women on Leningrad 284, black-figure neck-amphora (ABV, 335, mid 1; H. Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands*, vol. 2 [Dresden and Zurich, 1925], 187).

120. Paris G 4 bis, red-figure cup (supra, note 109).

121. E.g., pulling on her boots on the Käppli cup, *Para*, 325, 49 bis; *Kunstwerke der Antike*, ex. cat. of collection of Robert Käppli (Basel, n. d.), D 5; and the Boot Painter's girls, as ARFH, fig. 382.

122. K. Erbacher, *Griechisches Schuhwerk* (Würzburg, 1914), 58–62; M. Bieber, *RE*, s.v. “Kothurn,” 1.

123. There are no good grounds for regarding the *kothornos* as essentially feminine (see E. Simon, *The Ancient Theatre* [London, 1982], 13–14; A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *JdI* 97 [1982], 71–72).

124. R. D. Barnett, *JHS* 68 (1948), 9 (Phrygian), 18. Greek references to easterners in *RE*, s.v. “Inaures” and Dio Chrys. 32.3.



Figure 25. No. 33. Red-figure column-krater by the Pig Painter. Cleveland Museum of Art 26.549, A. W. Ellenberger Sr. Endowment Fund. Photo: Courtesy Cleveland Museum of Art.

graduating from wooden studs to gold (about the difference between our No. 19 and No. 33), but he may be a special case, as we shall see. Seventh-century male clay figures from Rhodes, Chios, and Samos have pierced ears.<sup>125</sup> At the end of the century the ivory boy from Samos, a fitting for a lyre, has inlaid ear-discs;<sup>126</sup> stylistically he has Anatolian, probably Lydian, connections. Gorgoneion Group bust-vases and an Ionian face-kantharos offer male heads with decorated lobes, but possibly borrowed from the molded or painted decoration of their female counterparts.<sup>127</sup> There are dotted male lobes shown on Chian and Caeretan sixth-century vases<sup>128</sup> and some interesting-looking kouros ears.<sup>129</sup>

It seems more than possible that in parts of East Greece

earrings were an acceptable element of stylish, if foppish, male dress at the time that the komast apparel we have been studying was being regularly worn.

#### Lyres

From about 520 on a new type of lyre is depicted on Athenian vases—the *barbiton* (or *barbitos*). It has long, straight arms, not the curving goat-horn arms of the ordinary lyre, nor the heavy construction and soundbox of the *kithara* or *phorminx*. Its long strings and low notes made it particularly valuable as accompaniment for the male voice. With one exception (No. 19) it is the only lyre type handled by our dressed komasts. One of the earliest examples, on Psiax's plate (No. 3, fig. 9), has an elaborate form with

125. J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio* (London, 1967), 191 citing for Samos, *AM* 66 (1941), pl. 15.1244; for Rhodes, R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, vol. 1 (new ed., London, 1954–), pl. 2.7.

126. D. Ohly, *AM* 74 (1959), 48–56, Beilage 87–93; B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Elfenbeine aus dem samischen Heraion* (Hamburg, 1966), 19–26, pl. 2; J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture, Archaic Period* (London,

1978), fig. 54.

127. Higgins, vol. 2 (supra, note 125), pl. 7.1613. Boston 98.925; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1529, 1 and 1697; *Samos* vi.1, pl. 55. In these and the following notes I am indebted to Christopher Simon for relevant observations.

128. T. B. L. Webster, *JHS* 48 (1928), 198–199 citing his pl. 11 and E. R. Price, *JHS* 44 (1924), 215, fig. 56; 219, fig. 63; pl. 6.6. There are several other examples on males on Caeretan vases.



Figures 26a–b. No. 34. Red-figure pelike by the Pig Painter. Left: side A; right: side B. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 13.129. Photos: Courtesy Archaeological Museum of Rhodes.

twisting arms, which appears on a number of other vases of the late sixth century and must represent its earliest, most ornate form.<sup>130</sup> The following is a list of representations of this type:

1. Basel, Antikenmuseum, Kämpeli 421, black-figure plate by Psiax (fig. 9). Our No. 3.
2. London B167 (part), black-figure stand (fig. 32). *Para*, 169.
3. Havana, Lagunillas Collection, black-figure pelike. *ABV*, 340, top 3, Painter of the Vogell Pelike.
4. Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia, Collection F. Lugt 3650, black-figure pelike.

5. Paris F 314, black-figure stamnos. *ABV*, 388, 1, Group of Louvre F 314.

6. Brussels A 1652, black-figure psykter. *ABV*, 387, 19, Acheloos Painter manner; *CVA* iii, pl. 25.5; S. Drougou, *Der attische Psykter* (Würzburg, 1975), pl. 13.1.

7. Berlin 4029, added-color stamnos. *ABV*, 672; *JdI* 43 (1928), 339, fig. 6.

The type seems to have originated in East Greece,<sup>131</sup> and Pindar (frag. 125 Snell; in *Ath.* 635d) says it was invented by Terpander of Lesbos to answer the high-pitched *pektis* (*Ath.* 626a). Athenaeus 175e has Anakreon the inventor, and it was mentioned by both Sappho and Anakreon (*Ath.* 182f). Kritias, whose grandfather was Anakreon's favorite

129. Notably on the Leipzig kouros, with red dots on the lobes; A. Rumpf in *Antike Plastik. Walter Amelung zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), 218 (= G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi* [London, 1960], no. 58, not recorded).

130. The elaborated arms, though not the general proportions, seem anticipated in the Bronze Age. See C. A. Long, *The Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus* (Gothenburg, 1974), 38 and nn. 48–52; N. Platon in *Charisterion*

*Orlandou*, vol. 3 (Athens, 1966), 208ff.; J. Tzedakis, *AAA* 3 (1970), 111–112; M. Wegner, *Musik und Tanz. Archaeologia Homerica* (Göttingen, 1968), figs. 1k, 2i.

131. Cf. M. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin, 1949), 42–45, 198–200. J. M. Snyder, *CJ* 67 (1972), 331–340 and *cadem*, *AJA* 80 (1976), 189–190, on the classical barbiton.



Figure 27. No. 39. Red-figure column-krater by the Agrigento Painter. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 770. Photo: Courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Figure 28. No. 41. Red-figure column-krater by the Orchard Painter. Bologna, Museo Civico 234. Photo: Courtesy Museo Civico.

in Athens, calls the poet *philobarbitos* (frag. 3 Diels; Ath. 600e). The source and date of introduction of the *barbiton* to Athens is very clear.

#### *Parasols*

Many of our dressed komasts carry parasols and only on No. 20 (figs. 22a–b) do a woman and a small girl carry their parasols for them. In fact our vases provide the vast majority of all Greek representations of parasols from the sixth century and first half of the fifth. Other known representations are on a late black-figure fragment from the Akropolis, which shows a woman with one;<sup>132</sup> on the Penelope Painter skyphos, where a fine lady (Basilinna, it may be) is protected by one carried for her by a satyr; and on the Parthenon frieze, where Eros supports one for his mother.<sup>133</sup> They were carried for girls in the panathenaic procession, and it is not surprising to discover in Greek literature that they are regarded as utterly feminine, to protect fair skins,<sup>134</sup> and they are frequently shown handled by women in the fourth century, especially on South Italian vases. But was this so always, everywhere? In the east a parasol was no woman's toy but a mark of status, fit to be held over the Great King himself, symbolizing the way he cast the shadow of his protection over his people. That this remains true well into the Classical period in Anatolia is apparent on the "Nereid Monument" at Xanthos in Lycia.<sup>135</sup> Among the rich gifts of Artaxerxes to his Cretan guest, Entimos, was a gilded parasol (Ath. 49f), but we are not told what he did with it when he took it home.

In Athenian art our first parasol-holder is a man. He appears on either side of an eye-cup of about 530–520, wearing himation and chiton and on his head what looks like a cap in the form of a woman's head.<sup>136</sup> He is not certainly a komast, but the only other figures with the same odd headdress are only a little later in date—naked youths dancing to a piper and youths in short chitons dancing with drawn swords.<sup>137</sup> The headgear remains mysterious but seems to have festive associations.

It seems very likely, then, that the parasol was known first to Greeks as the oriental insigne of a male dignitary, which in the exotic society of Archaic Lydia or East Greece fell into women's hands too, and that although this was to

132. Akr. 682, Graef, vol. 1, pl. 46.

133. Berlin 2589; ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1301, 7; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pl. 18.2. F. Brommer, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* (London, 1979), pl. 105. In the hands of a maenad on ARV<sup>2</sup>, 621, 34 and 42, Villa Giulia Painter.

134. RE, s.v. "Schirm"; Deubner (supra, note 133), 31 n. 14 (Panathenaea), 49 (not at Skira).

135. C. Picard, *La Sculpture*, vol. 2, part 2 (Paris, 1939), 871, fig. 353. And cf. E. W. Klimowsky, *SchwMbl* 13/14 (1964), 121–134.

136. Naples 2729; well discussed by F. Brommer in "Kopf über Kopf," *Antike und Abendland* 4 (1954), 42–44 with fig. 1; CB, 57, n. 1; CVA

be its Classical Greek function, its appearance in mainland Greece was at first in men's hands only and in the context of the komos.

At this point a summary of the representational evidence for our dressed komasts and their antecedents may be attempted. To many scholars they have seemed to be deliberately impersonating women. But the origin of every detail of their dress is found to be male, especially in the East Greek world and in the more overtly oriental society of their wealthy and influential neighbors, the Lydians. Though the main series begins only in the 520's, elements of their dress are seen earlier in Greece—the wearing of the chiton, the odd headdress. The wearing of earrings and the origins of the distinctive *barbiton* lyre can be traced in the East Greek world, and in Lydia and the barbarian east the distinctive boots and parasols.

The representations on Athenian vases from the 520's on bring all these elements together and demonstrate them in a komos setting in which the turbaned, chitonized figures, with the *barbiton*, boots, parasol, and sometimes even earrings, strike a distinctive and indeed discordant note beside the traditional near-naked males of the drinking party. The origins of this special komast behavior must be sought, with their dress and appurtenances, in an East Greek world heavily influenced by the behavior of their eastern neighbors. At no point in the early history of their dress and behavior is there any serious reason to believe that impersonation of women was deliberately intended. This is made especially clear by the way in which the men do *not* wear dress that we know to be exclusively feminine—the caps of the mid-century black-figure vases, the sakkos (except at the end of our series), the peplos—while any of these would have served as an instant indication of at least partial but deliberate transvestism. Nor do they shave. Nor do they wear the basic equipment of drag artists everywhere—false breasts. All other elements shared with women are proved, by evidence other than vase representations, to have had male associations also. (Think of the appalling mistakes that might be made by the uninformed trying to interpret pictures of bearded Scotsmen wearing kilts.)<sup>138</sup>

Still, they look like women—too readily perhaps to

modern scholars, who react instinctively to the combination of funny hats, long dresses, parasols, and earrings. And they would have looked rather like women even to their contemporaries in Athens, who were nevertheless more naturally aware that some men wore long dresses and hats, had worn and no doubt still did wear earrings, and that the Great King sat under a parasol. Given the setting of wine and song and the effeminacy attributed to those areas from which this dress and behavior derived, it is likely enough that the feminine aspect became emphasized or even sought after, especially once the sakkos was adopted. But this was not true transvestism and may never have become so.

The series ends before the middle of the fifth century, and the late examples, many on Mannerist vases, may even be throwbacks to Archaic behavior rather than portrayals of the contemporary. But comparably exotic dress, with its feminine connotations, was still to be seen in artists' quarter parties. Aristophanes' picture of Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazusae* has rightly been understood as in the tradition of our dressed komasts, with the hat, chiton, himation, girdle, shoes, and *barbiton*.<sup>139</sup> And the wearing of women's clothes at a party could come to be a somewhat tasteless display that had nothing necessarily to do with transvestism practiced for sexual, fertility, or cult purposes.<sup>140</sup>

Most of the elements of our dressed komasts begin to appear in some profusion on Athenian vases in the 520's, and from about 520 on the full-dress versions are seen. This suggests a gradual infiltration of East Greek habits into Athenian komast life, culminating around 520 in a special addiction on the part of some revelers to a wholehearted display of this exotic behavior. The general trend is answered in Athenian art—in sculpture, vase-painting, architecture—by increasing awareness of East Greek, Ionian styles, some of which make a profound and lasting impression.<sup>141</sup> In the case of behavior in the komos, so amply demonstrated by the vases, we can turn to literary evidence to illustrate, if not necessarily explain, the change; and this brings us to Anakreon.

Anakreon was born in Teos, a city of Ionia, in about 572.<sup>142</sup> In the face of the advancing Persians, his townsmen left Teos to settle in Abdera, on the north coast of the

Adolphseck 1, pls. 14.1, 4; 16.3–4.

137. Brommer (supra, note 136), figs. 2–4.

138. Cf. letter to the London *Times* of December 24, 1980 from Janetta Hutchinson:

"Sir, While in a shop in Hampstead the other day the assistant turned to me and said:

'Can I help you, Sir?'

'I'm a girl,' I replied.

'Oh,' she said in all honesty. 'It was the earring that made me think that you were a boy.'"

139. J. N. Snyder, *Hermes* 102 (1974), 244–246.

140. So Philostratos, *Imagines* 1.2, admits changes of dress, either way, in the komos. The story of the boys dressed as women, dancing for Demeter, to deceive the Megarians (Plut. *Solon* 8) possibly, but not necessarily, conceals cult transvestism. They wore mitrai, "dresses," and sandals. On transvestism in general see Kenner (supra, note 83), section XI.

141. Notably in sculpture, the korai. Less emphatically in vase-painting; cf. D. A. Jackson, *East Greek Influence on Attic Vases* (London, 1976) and architecture.

142. C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, 1961), chapter 7 gives a good survey of his life and works, and for dates cf. J. P. Barron, *CQ* 14 (1964), 219–222, 228–229 (and M. L. West, *CQ* 20 [1970], 206–208).



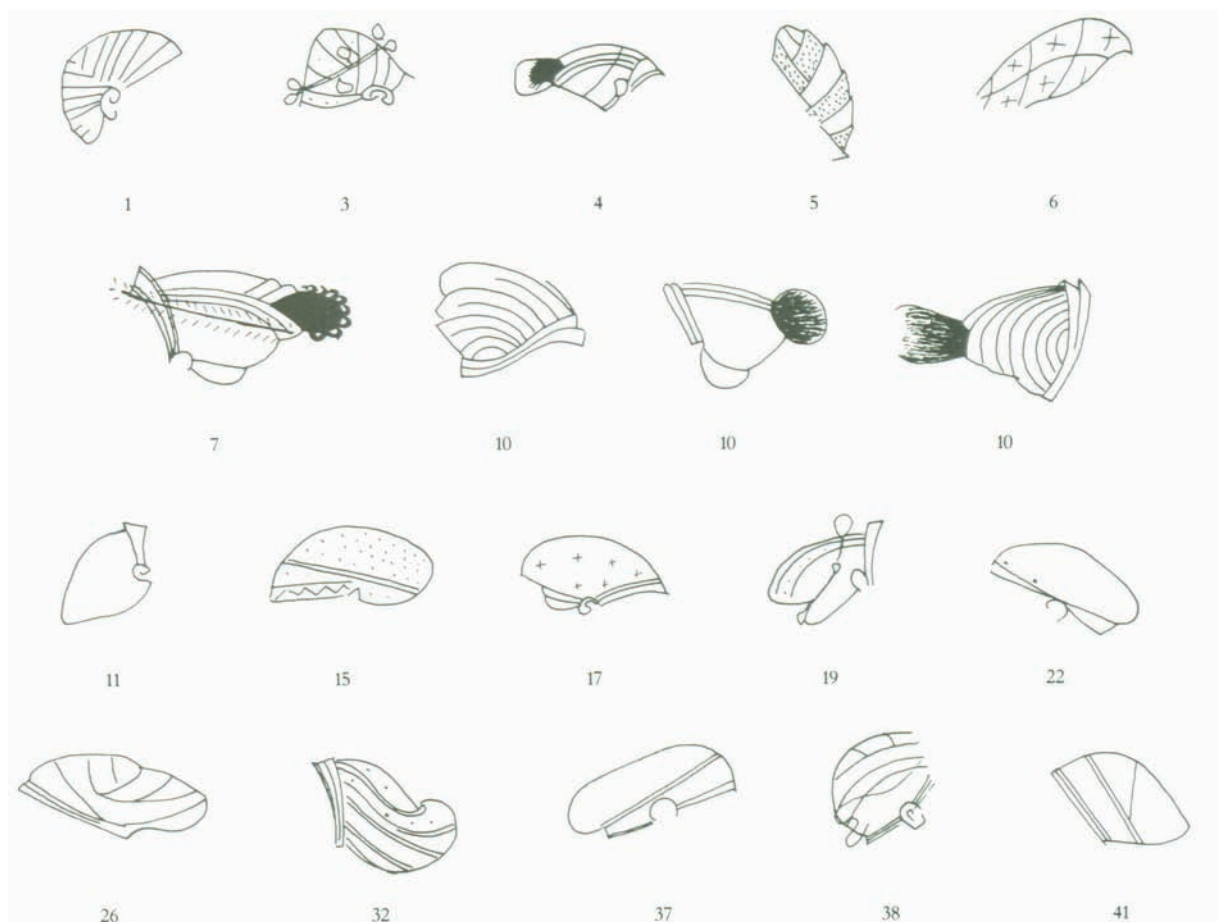


Figure 29. Examples of mitrai on catalogued pieces. Drawing by the author.



Figure 30. Examples of eastern headdresses, after Wäfler (see note 86), figs. 138 (=1: men of Carchemish at Nimrud); 47, 51 (=2, 3: Phoenicians at Nimrud, Nineveh, etc.); 103 (=4: North Syrian neo-Hittites at Khorsabad); 113 (=5: Phrygians at Khorsabad); 14 (=6: Judaeans at Nineveh); 136 (=7: men of Carchemish at Nimrud). Compare the Greek *krobylos* with the last.



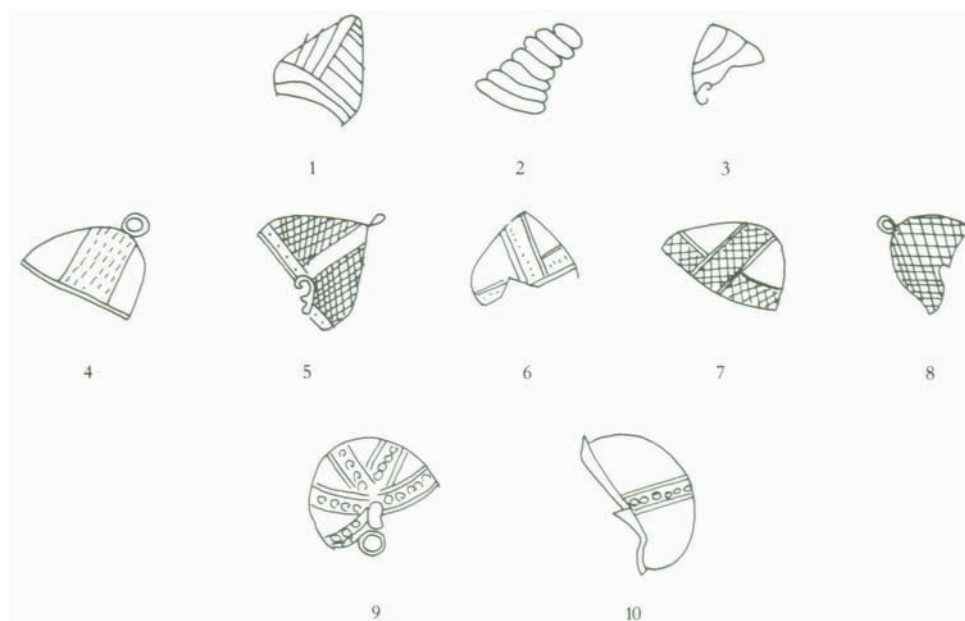


Figure 31. Examples of other Greek headdresses. Drawing by the author.

Aegean, in about 525; and some of his poems reflect a stay in Thrace. At some stage he was said to have been retained by Polykrates, tyrant of Samos, to be family music-master. He was at the Samian court for the last years of the tyrant's life. What Anacreon's special contribution to the way of life at Polykrates' court may have been is not easy to judge, but it was a style which enjoyed a reputation later for its extravagance and sensuality; and Klearchos, the Hellenistic moralist, attributed the ruin of Polykrates to his emulation of soft Lydian ways (*ξηλώσας τὰ Λυδῶν μαλακά*, Ath. 540f). In such a context, perhaps, Anacreon coined the word *λυδοπαθεῖς* (frag. 136 Page; frag. 158 Gentili).<sup>143</sup>

Polykrates was killed in 522, and Anacreon sought the hospitality of another tyrant's court, in Athens. Indeed "Plato" (*Hipparchos* 228b) says that Hipparchos sent a pentekonter to fetch him. Either at the murder of Hipparchos in 514 or at the expulsion of Hippias in 510, Anacreon must have left Athens, perhaps for Thessaly, but he certainly returned and died there in the 480's, full of years and wine. His poetry epitomizes that life of Ionia which we have seen to lie behind the appearance and dress of our komasts; and Anacreon's arrival in Athens coincides closely with the main series of representations, or at least the first common appearance of most of the relevant details. That his arrival in Athens is to be associated in some way with this new

behavior is clear. That he alone was responsible for it, is another matter. After all, we have seen several elements introduced to Athens before his arrival (the turban, chiton-wearing komasts, probably the boots), and Sparta may have known some sooner still.<sup>144</sup> It is far more probable that he is a symptom of this ionicizing trend, and we need to look more closely at our evidence for his life, interests, even appearance. For one thing, his poetry is not an expression of wild, effeminate abandon.

He loved pleasure and sang unaffectedly about it. He had little interest in war or politics. Yet he is unusually dignified and decorous...even at his most relaxed and unabashed Anacreon has a reserve of strength and detachment which serves his character and his art. There is always a hint that he does not treat his amusements too seriously, that he knows their true worth. And when this reserve is present, there is no question of his poetry being degraded or degrading. (Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* [Oxford, 1967], 307).

Though interest in the *barbiton* was obviously not exclusively Anacreon's, his association with it was sufficient for a later writer to think that he invented it (see *supra*, p. 64). With Alcaeus and Ibycus he is named by Aristophanes (*Thesm.* 160–163) as one of the old poets who wore the *mitra*<sup>145</sup> and danced extravagantly. There is nothing spe-

143. Anecdotes about Lydian softness in Athenaeus 515d–516c.

144. One of the earliest turbans in mainland Greek art is worn by a Spartan (see *supra*, note 89). In the later part of the previous century Alkman had come to Sparta from Sardis and knew the Lydian *mitra* (frag. 1.67–68 Page). In Spartan symposia we also meet the soft boots early (Louvre E 672; *BSA* 49 [1954], pl. 52b). Artemis Orthia had a

procession of Lydians (Plut. *Aristides* 17). We need not dwell upon Sparta's special relations with Samos from the end of the seventh century on (on which now P. Cartledge, *CQ* 32 [1982], 243–265).

145. Frag. 37 Gentili (not Page), if really his, gives floral *mitrai* to Eros.



Figure 32. Black-figure stand. London, British Museum B 167. Photo: Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.

cific in these records to suggest his responsibility for a revolution in the Athenian komos, but we can reach him on vases too, and these have been our sole evidence for the behavior with which he is now regularly associated.

His name appears on three vases in the last twenty years

of the sixth century; on two it clearly identifies a figure, and on the third it may do so. These should tell us something about popular views of Anakreon's behavior and dress.<sup>146</sup> On a cup by Oltos of about 520–510 he wears himation and wreath only, playing a *barbiton*, with no

146. These vases have been much discussed. Cf. CB, 57, 60–61; K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Denker und Redner* (Basel, 1943), 50–51; idem, *Griechische Dichterbildnisse* (Zurich, 1965), 4–6, pls. 2a, 3a; H. Brandenburg, 86–87, pls. 1, 2; G. M. A. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks* (London, 1965), 77, figs. 291–292.

147. J. D. Beazley, *The Kleophrades Painter* (Mainz, 1974), 15–16; H. Immerwahr, *AJA* 69 (1965), 152–154.

148. London E 44; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 318, 2; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 401; see Diod. iv 12.2 and Apollod. ii 5.1. Compare Enkelados' name on his helmet (Copenhagen 13966; *Para*, 48, Epitimos Painter; *CVA* 8, pl. 325.1); Athena's on her altar (Akr. 1220; Graef, vol. 1, pl. 67); and Essen A 176; *Para*, 166, 108; H. Froning, *Katalog der griechischen und italischen Vasen*

[Museum Folkwang, Essen, 1982], no. 57; Kyknos' on his shield (Akr. 2555, Graef, vol. 1, pl. 105); Ajax's on the hyacinth that sprang from his blood (on an Etruscan red-figure stamnos, Cabinet des Médailles 947; J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting* [Oxford, 1947], 53–54, pl. 11.4, Settecaminii Painter; J. M. Moret, *RA* 1979, 27, fig. 19). Architectural sculpture behaves otherwise. On the Eretria pediment the *ese* is more likely to be part of a discreet signature than (illegible from below, on the chariot rail) of Theseus' name. On the Siphnian Treasury frieze the names are on the background and lower border, the signature on the shield. At Tegea and on the Pergamon Altar (cf. M. Robertson, *History of Greek Art* [Cambridge, 1975], 164) the inscribed names are outside the reliefs altogether.

exotic features whatever. Unless Oltos added the name as an afterthought, he had no strong views about Anakreon's appearance. On a lekythos by the Gales Painter of about 510–500 he wears chiton and himation and plays the *barbiton*. His head is badly damaged, and either a sakkos or tied headcloth (the more likely, I think) has been restored. This is closer to the figures of the dressed komasts. And on our No. 5, of about 500, where there are fully dressed, turbaned figures, a fragment shows part of a dressed (presumably turbaned, but we cannot be sure) figure holding a *barbiton*, on one (the only one preserved) arm of which is the name Anakre[on (fig. 13b). A word or name beginning A... before the figure, if it names him, is perhaps unlikely to be A[nakreon again. Other figures on the vase were named, one sings "IOOO," and there were drinking mottoes or ditties.<sup>147</sup> The *barbiton* player might be meant for Anakreon himself, but this is not absolutely certain. It is unusual for a figure to be named on an adjacent object or on one that he is holding. It could seem appropriate to do so if the object is especially associated with him, which might seem to be the case here. So, when Onesimos labels Eurystheus on the pithos in which he has taken refuge from Herakles, we are reminded that he had specially prepared this bunker for such an eventuality.<sup>148</sup>

The fifth-century statue of Anakreon recognized in copies shows him naked but for a cloak over his shoulders and wearing a plain fillet.<sup>149</sup> None of this suggests that there was in the minds of his contemporaries any very specific association of Anakreon with the komast behavior we have been studying, beyond its general suitability to his background; and on No. 5 his name could have been prompted more by the *barbiton* on which it appears (a mocking kalos, perhaps) than by the (assumed) dress of its player or even his identity.

Finally there is one poem of Anakreon's which alludes to earrings, a headdress, a parasol, and effeminacy, and which has considerably bedeviled previous enquiries (frag. 43 Page; frag. 82 Gentili). Since the allusions appear in the course of an attack on one Artemon, it has been thought that Anakreon himself disapproved of the very elements which modern scholarship, on the evidence of the vases,

has wished to associate with his name. The remark about women has been used to support the view that the dress we have considered was deliberately transvestite. And a recent study allows Anakreon's disapproval no more of the man than of his dress (which is taken for transvestite) and sees the poem as "good-humored abuse."<sup>150</sup> The lines are quoted by Chamaileon (in Ath. 533f) as a commentary on Artemon's rise from poverty to luxury, without allusion to effeminacy; and we are, at any rate, trying to look at the original context through the quotation of a quotation.

Artemon, Anakreon says, used to wear a *berberion* (taken for a shaggy garment of some sort); "wasped" wrappings (*καλύμματ' ἐσφηκωμένα*) which surely refers to a turban, binding the hair tight<sup>151</sup> and incidentally looking very like a wasp's striped body, as on our No. 5; wooden astragals in his ears,<sup>152</sup> which must be the simplest form of decorative plugs for the ear lobes; and an old oxhide shield cover for a cloak. He mixed with whores<sup>153</sup> and was often publicly pilloried and scourged. Now he rides in carriages (*σατινέων*)—mule-carts, more probably being contrasted here with his former reliance on his feet than with the more virile chariot; he wears gold earrings (*καθήρματα*, more probably earrings than necklace); and he carries a little ivory parasol, like women (*γυναιξίν αὐτῶς*). Clearly Artemon has progressed in wealth and indolence, rather than effeminacy, since he had worn earrings and a headdress before, and we are not obliged to believe such dress either effeminate or transvestite, especially since it was combined with an old oxhide cover for his flanks. So the words "like women" refer to the special character of his new garb and perhaps specifically and only to the parasol which the poet makes as trivial as he can with a diminutive (*σκιαδίσκην ἐλεφαντίνην*). This really is soft living and might deserve the taunt of effeminacy. The whole poem shows that Anakreon belongs to a society in which such dress was tolerated—if sometimes laughed at—and Artemon is being described not in a komos but in the streets. This is no more than we might expect, and we are not obliged to think that Anakreon disapproved (or even wholeheartedly approved) of the whole getup.<sup>154</sup>

"Anacreon's personality emerges clearly from his frag-

149. Richter (supra, note 146), 76–77, figs. 271–290, the original dated "circa 440"; J. Frel, *Revue des Arts* 8 (1958), 203–206.

150. W. J. Slater, *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 185–194. Cf. also CB, 56; Bowra (supra, note 142), 297–300. Slater's case is well answered by M. Davies in *Mnemosyne* 34 (1981), 288–299, defending Anakreon against transvestism. See also, in this vein, H. A. Shapiro, *AJA* 85 (1981), 138–140, and C. Brown, *Phoenix* 37 (1983), 1–15 (in note 54 he sees an earring on Myson's Kroisos, but there is none).

151. Already so used in *Iliad* 17.52.

152. In the sixth century a Lydian girl went to her grave with gold earrings and two stylized gold astragals (A. Greifenhagen, *AntK* 8 [1965], 13–19, pl. 6.4–5). I wonder whether they were in some way

joined. Otherwise there is something of an astragal pattern in the ribbed ear covers shown in Cypriot and East Greek art: J. M. Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 38 (1963), 28–51.

153. For his association with girls, as pimp or lover, see frag. 372 Page. Anakreon is attacking effeminacy in frag. 79.

154. For further record of effeminacy in his work we have only his desire to behave as a very restrained or not very restrained (depending on the reading) maenad (frag. 356.a.6 Page) and a phrase for an effeminate step (frag. 113).

ments and has little resemblance to the senile and bibulous rake who was created in his name by his imitators."<sup>155</sup> And we should perhaps not be too ready to lay at his door the sole responsibility for all the Lydopathic license of late Archaic Athenian komasts.

#### ADDENDUM

Robert Guy draws my attention to the appearance of our komasts on a cup fragment (Colmar Painter) in a private collection (Centre Island, New York) and on a column-krater from the 1983 excavations at Gravina.

The subject is further discussed, in its social context, by F. Frontisi-Ducroux and F. Lissarrague in "De l'ambiguïté

à l'ambivalence sous le signe de Dionysos," *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Archeologia e Storia Antica* 5 (1983), 11–32, with several illustrations of relevant figures.

Another physical contribution from the east to the Greek symposion was the use and appearance of sieve and ladle, as shown in many Greek symposion scenes. The practice was an old eastern one (cf. P. R. S. Morey, *Iranica Antiqua* 15 [1980], 181–197), and the instruments are now well illustrated in the fine silver examples in New York, which are purely Lydian-Achaemenid (*BMAA*, Summer 1984, 41–43; the article inexplicably describes them as Greek).

155. C. M. Bowra (supra, note 142), 307.

# Two Pelikai by the Pan Painter

Martin Robertson

The Getty Museum has fragments of two pelikai by the Pan Painter. One is a very large and elaborate vase, a masterpiece of great beauty from the artist's early career. This pelike is important both for the connections it shows with productions of other craftsmen in the Kerameikos and for the subject matter of its exceptionally interesting pictures. The other pelike belongs to a special group of small vases, whose witty and charming decoration was dashed off with careless mastery by the painter in his prime.

I first saw the large pelike (figs. 1a–k) in fragments. In spite of its sad condition, Jiří Frel had arranged its donation to the Getty Museum, for it was of splendid quality.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Frel had thought Myson was the artist, and the style certainly resembles that of Myson's best work. But it seemed to me that the quality was too fine and that the hand was in any case another's—the Pan Painter's. Later I found that two fragments in the Louvre that had already been ascribed to the Pan Painter by Beazley<sup>2</sup> belonged to this vase, one of them even joining. This observation was also made independently by Hubert Giroux. The two Louvre fragments and further pieces from the mouth and neck are now on permanent loan to the Getty Museum and are incorporated in the restored vase.

The surviving remains of the pelike comprise parts of mouth and neck, one handle (B/A), and substantial parts of both figure panels. The foot and lower parts of the vase are lost, and there is no join between fragments that give parts of the maeander below the pictures (with parts of the picture on side A) and the main fragments from higher up on the vase, so that the height of the pictures is conjectural (see *infra*, p. 73). The fragment giving the junction of the left-hand side and bottom borders (fig. 1e) almost cer-

tainly belongs to B. A loose fragment with parts of figures (fig. 1g) must come from the right-hand part of A but cannot be exactly placed (see *infra*).

The upper edge of the upper border is about level with the top of the handle-root. On the lower part of the surviving handle is a red-figure palmette (fig. 1c; traces are preserved of the lower part of the corresponding palmette at the other handle, fig. 1d). The enclosing line hangs from volutes, and a second pair of volutes hang from the lower part of the line on either side of the narrow, pointed, central, ribbed leaf, which is extended over the enclosure. The surviving palmette is lopsidedly drawn, with five rounded, unribbed leaves on one side and four on the other.

Above each panel is a band of black silhouette palmettes on their sides, enclosed in a running line with volutes above and below. At the sides is a two-line net, and at the bottom is a maeander. Upper and lower borders extend to the outer edges of the side borders but do not circle the vase.

Side A contained more figures than side B, and I therefore treat it as the front of the vase; but there is no distinction in care or quality between the two sides.

*Side A.* Dionysiac (figs. 1a, e–f, h–i). In the center is a bearded figure to right. He wears a wreath of narrow, pointed leaves, probably myrtle, drawn in red-figure; long hair extends down his neck, one lock loose behind, two more brought forward; long chiton and over it a short, richly patterned garment, which hangs in heavy folds to his waist; and on top a himation across both shoulders as a shawl. Behind his back appears the rump of an animal, and he bends, both arms stretched forward and down, evidently busy with its head. His knees must have been bent (see *infra*, p. 73). Immediately in front of him (figs. 1a, h) is

## Abbreviations:

In addition to the standard abbreviations and Beazley's abbreviations in *ARV* and *ABV*, the following have been used:

Beazley, *Panm.*: J. D. Beazley, *Der Pan-Maler* (Berlin, 1931).

Beazley, *Pan P.*: J. D. Beazley, *The Pan Painter* (Mainz, 1974).

Becker: R.–M. Becker, *Formen attischer Peliken von der Pionier-Gruppe bis zum Beginn der Frühklassik* (Böblingen, 1977).

Follmann: A.–B. Follmann, *Der Pan-Maler* (Bonn, 1968).

Langlotz: Ernst Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin, 1933).

Langlotz, Würzburg: Ernst Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich, 1932).

I have been interested in this vase for some years and have held sem-

inars on it, and I have learnt much from students and other scholars in many places. Some particular debts are acknowledged in the notes. At the XII. International Congress of Classical Archaeology in Athens in September 1983 I gave a paper on it, "Corn and Vine on a Vase by the Pan Painter," which is appearing in the *Acta* of that congress. The present article is a much fuller publication with some changes.

1. The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.62. Height as restored: 30 cm. Height from top of handle to bottom of palmette: circa 15 cm. Diameter of mouth: circa 17.5 cm. The interior of the pot is black, shiny inside the neck, matte and rough under the shoulder, becoming smoother and darker lower down.

2. Louvre C 10833; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 558, no. 130; *JdI* 87 (1972), 83, fig. 16. Now Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum L.81.AE.45.



Figure 1a. Pelike by the Pan Painter (side A). Reconst. H: approx. 30 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.62.

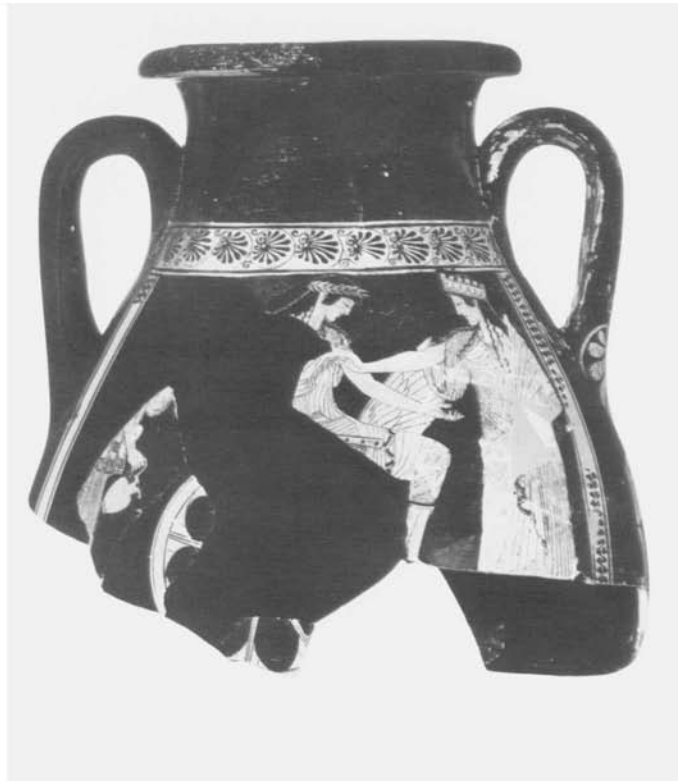


Figure 1b. Side B of pelike, figure 1a.

the raised right hand of another figure, grasping a sacrificial knife with a pattern of studs on the handle. The blade (which is washed with thinned black and edged with a double line<sup>3</sup>) is lying down along the almost vertical forearm. A vine loaded with grape clusters, which spreads over the whole background, appears to spring from the top of the knife handle, and one might suppose that it, too, was held in this hand, but something jutting diagonally down to the right from the wrist can only be the vinestock passing behind the hand. The stock must either have been held in another hand or been growing from the ground. At the extreme right are remains of a figure facing left (figs. 1a, d): the back of the head survives with just traces of a red-figure wreath; ends of long hair are lying down the back; trace of himation(?); between the back of the head and the ends of the hair the contour is lost, but across it

slants up an almost vertical shaft with a big palmette finial. Almost the whole surface of the adjoining fragment has flaked away, but there remains along the left-hand edge a wavy lock of hair.

The diagonal lines and dots on the shaft are typical of scepters (spiraling, barber pole decoration); but the finial, though not unique, would be unusual (the regular scepter head is a lotus on a rather smaller scale) and the relief line edging the shaft on the right suggests that it might rather be the back of a throne. Such a seat back on a slightly earlier fragment from the Akropolis makes a good parallel to the angle and to the large palmette finial, but the shaft there is undecorated.<sup>4</sup> The loose fragment (fig. 1g) has to belong in this area, but its interpretation is uncertain. The straight edge is almost horizontal and should probably be at the top (as it is placed in the illustration). The feature on the left

3. It is possible that two overlapping knives are meant. The pattern of studs on the handle(s) is just like the pattern on the knife handles in the case carried by an Egyptian on the Busiris pelike (infra, note 26; knife case, Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 8). Those are small knives, for flaying and dividing a carcass; the instrument(s) here are for the slaughter. The corresponding weapon on the Busiris vase, dropped and not clearly visible in the illustrations, has a different kind of handle. Knife cases: Kraiker, *Gnomon* 9 (1933), 644–645; Fuhrmann, *ÖJh* 39 (1952), 27–30; Beazley, *Pan P.* (1974), 3 n. 17. Four examples and a possible fifth one

are cited; for another certain one, see infra, note 65.

4. Langlotz, pl. 42, no. 562; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 22, no. 3. Typical lotus-topped scepters, e.g. on the painter's Ferrara pelike, infra, note 36. He sometimes makes the lotus unusually big: Zeus' on the Marpessa psykter, infra, note 20 (R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Griechische Vasen der reifarchaischen Zeit* [Munich, 1953], pl. 79) and on the Ganymede Nolan (Boston 10.184; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 553, no. 39; Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 18, 1). Palmette finials: Triptolemos' on the Triptolemos Painter's name vase (infra, note 77; *EncPhotTel*, vol. 3, 21); Hera's in Makron's Judgment of Paris (Berlin 2291; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>,



Figure 1c. Handle palmette of pelike, figure 1a.

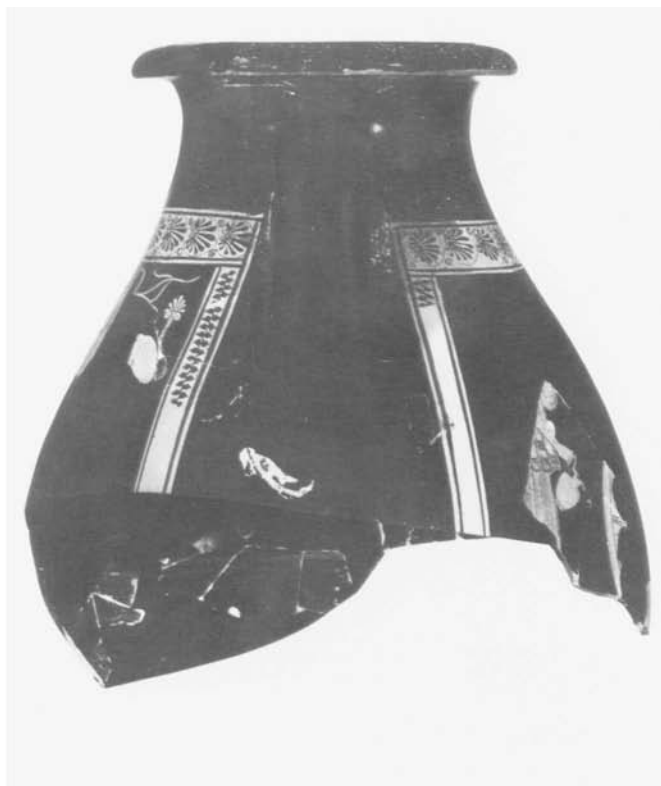


Figure 1d. Handle A/B of pelike, figure 1a.

would then give part of the breast and throat of the animal. The narrow object with central relief line is perhaps part of the vinestock; and the other traces (including a tiny arc of relief line on the extreme right) must belong to the figure holding, or associated with, the vine.<sup>5</sup> The reconstruction of this side of the picture, however, remains conjectural. It is discussed further in connection with the meaning of the scene.

Behind the central figure grows an ivy-covered tree (figs. 1a, f, h, i) in which a little maenad and satyr are taking a great interest. The maenad, a thin fillet on her loose hair, a spotted animal skin over her chiton, stands on the left side of the tree, her skirt disappearing behind the trunk, while on the other side the satyr, who has nothing on his head, looks straight out at us from behind the tree. Both reach their right hands high up it (the satyr's fingers

can be seen above the maenad's face), and the left foot of one of them is brought round the lower part as if climbing (figs. 1a, f). It could be linked to either figure but is most probably the satyr's, as otherwise one would expect to see his foot on the ground to the right. No fragment with part of the lower border actually joins any piece from the upper part of the picture, but the approximate position is assured by the curve of the vase. It would not be possible to draw out the figures of satyr and maenad any further, and it follows that the knees of the big central figure must have been quite sharply bent. The identification of the figures and the interpretation of this extraordinary scene are discussed *infra*.<sup>6</sup>

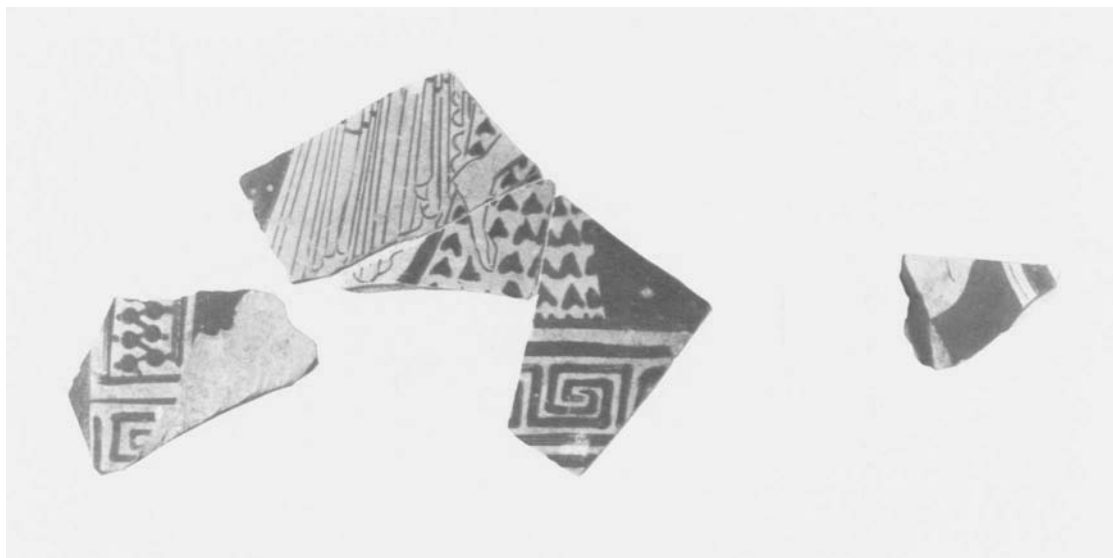
*Side B.* Departure of Triptolemos (figs. 1b, j, k). In the center Triptolemos (figs. 1b, j) sits on his winged wheel seat.<sup>7</sup> His wreath, drawn in red-figure, is, like that of the

459, no. 4; *CVA* 2, pl. 85); Attic heroes on the Syriskos Painter's Athens calyx-krater (Akr. 735; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 259, no. 1; Langlotz, pl. 61); one nearly as large as ours, Zeus' on an amphora by the Painter of the Munich Amphora (Leningrad St.1637; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 245, no. 3; A. A. Peredolskaya, *Krasnofigurnye atticheskie vazy v. Ermitazhe: katalog* [Leningrad, 1967], pl. 19).

5. This tiny relief-contoured arc might possibly belong to a compass-drawn circle, but it cannot be accommodated to the wheel of Triptolemos' seat on side B. See *infra*, note 72.

6. The following relief contours can be seen on side A: central figure—all preserved except hair (relief dots on forehead hair); animal's rump; right-hand figure(s)—the scepter with its finial; vine branches but not grape clusters (which have relief dots); loose fragment—all preserved; satyr—all preserved; maenad—all preserved except hair; most of tree. Dilute wash: lines on animal's rump; knife-blade; maenad's hair. Added red: vine leaves; narrow band on maenad's hair.

7. I have formerly committed the common error of referring to Triptolemos' "car" and am grateful to M. Metzger for showing me that



Figures 1e–g. Three fragments of a pelike by the Pan Painter. Fragment e, L: 3.2 cm; fragment f, L: 7.15 cm; fragment g, L: 2.3 cm. Fragments e and g are not included in the reconstruction. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum L.81.AE.45.1–3.

central figure on side A, probably myrtle, but here the leaves have a rib. His hair lies loose in a mass down his back and in separate locks over his shoulders. He wears a belted chiton and a himation wrapped round his knees and I suppose round his back at waist level. It does not come over his left shoulder and can hardly have been brought up over the right. There is a trace of something behind his hair, but it could not be a himation edge like Demeter's. His legs are bare below the tightly wrapped himation, so the chiton is a short one. The large wheel is eight-spoked; or rather, as can be seen in less fragmentary pictures, the four spokes of the far wheel are shown symmetrically between those of the near wheel.<sup>8</sup> The near wing must have reached backward, while the far one comes forward behind the arms of Triptolemos and the goddess who stands before him (figs. 1b, j, k). He extends his empty left hand forward, while the fingers of his right hand close on the ends of the grain-stalks just released from the goddess' hand.

It is often difficult or impossible to say, in a picture like this without inscriptions, which figure represents Demeter and which Kore; but the actual handing over of the grain

seems the mother's province, and the characterization of the named figures in the closely related picture by Makron (discussed *infra*), which shows a slightly later moment, confirms this. So, perhaps, does the goddess' polos-like headdress,<sup>9</sup> though in fact it is not a polos but a turreted crown: the contour of her bare head shows above it. Her hair hangs like Triptolemos', and she wears earring, chiton, and himation. Her left hand is empty like his. All four hands are marvelously drawn. One of the two fragments formerly in the Louvre, which Beazley ascribed to the Pan Painter, is that which gives most of the two right hands, Triptolemos' left arm and lap, seat arm, and wing. The other former Louvre fragment is the loose piece with the back of the wheel and part of the goddess behind (fig. 1b): Kore, who stands in profile to the right, wearing a long chiton and over it a short, patterned garment with wide folds, exactly like that worn by the central figure on side A. She holds a jug, surely of metal, low in her right hand. The sleeve shows that the left arm was lifted, and traces in front of the sleeve and behind Triptolemos' hair may be from something held in her left hand.<sup>10</sup>

this is wrong. He has pointed out (H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Paris, 1951], 234 n. 6; idem, *Revue des études grecques* 95 [1982], 473) that, whether winged or not, it is a chair or stool with wheels. The point had been made before by Furtwängler (*AG* 2, 208 n. 1; *FR* 2, 24 n. 2), as Metzger notes, but neither scholar has had much effect on general usage. See *infra*, note 71.

8. This is not made perfectly clear on the Pan Painter's Ferrara Triptolemos (*infra*, with note 36), but see, e.g., the chariot on the Berlin Painter's calyx-krater, Athens, Akr. 742 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 205, no. 117; Langlotz, pl. 59), where the spokes of the far wheel disappear behind the wheel

seat and Athena's skirt as she mounts, and the bindings are shown on the near but not the far four (spoke bindings: *AE* 1978, 93 with n. 4).

9. See, however, *infra*, with note 17.

10. The following relief contours can be seen on side B: Triptolemos—all preserved except hair; chair wheel; Demeter—face, throat, most of crown, arm and hand, small parts of drapery (her hair, from brow to ear, is drawn in close-set relief lines); Kore—arm and hand with jug; garments so far as they are preserved. No dilute wash. Added red: grainstalks.





Figure 1h. Detail of side A of pelike, figure 1a.

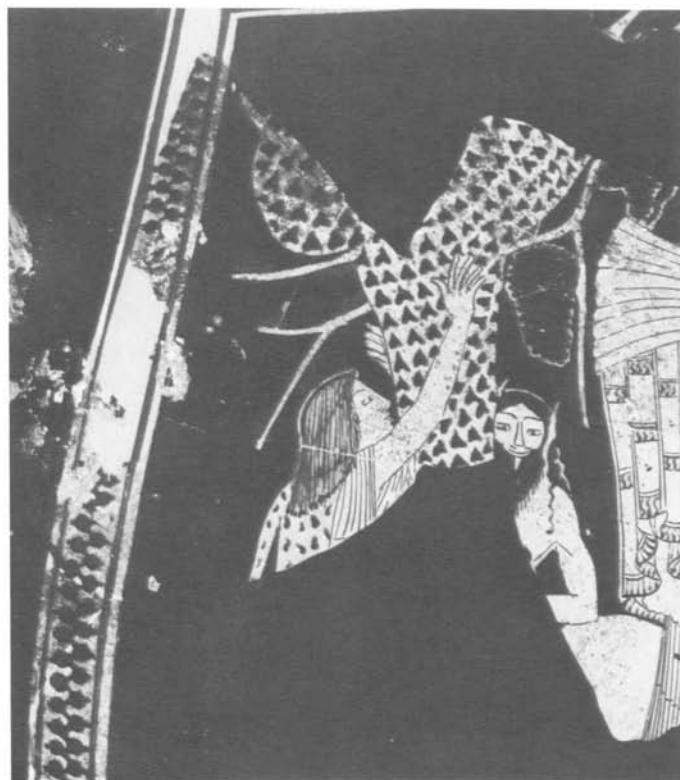


Figure 1i. Detail of side A of pelike, figure 1a.



Figure 1j. Detail of side B of pelike, figure 1a.



Figure 1k. Detail of side B of pelike, figure 1a.

The attribution of the drawings on this vase to the Pan Painter can quickly be justified. One need only compare the bearded head on side A with those, similarly wreathed, of Poseidon on a column-krater in Bari and a Nolan in Schwerin,<sup>11</sup> or the god's head on a volute-krater fragment in Boston<sup>12</sup>; or the beardless heads on side B with that of Artemis on a volute-krater from the Akropolis,<sup>13</sup> or a nereid's on a second Nolan in Schwerin.<sup>14</sup> The little satyr has much in common with the Pan Painter's frontal herms,<sup>15</sup> and the maenad is particularly like the blond Thracian woman on a column-krater in Munich.<sup>16</sup> All other details confirm the ascription. Compare, for instance, the half-closed, empty hands of Demeter and Triptolemos with the hand of the Schwerin nereid, whose headdress is adorned with an arcade exactly like that on Demeter's crown but the other way up.<sup>17</sup> The painter is particularly fond of the red-figure myrtle wreath, often adding in red the looped tie at the back omitted on our vase.<sup>18</sup> Triptolemos' wreath here is the only one I know on which the painter gives the narrow, pointed leaves a central rib, but he does this for leaves of the same form, spaced upright along the stephane of Artemis on the Akropolis volute-krater (whose front hair is treated exactly like Demeter's on our vase) and on a white-ground lekythos in Leningrad.<sup>19</sup>

In all points the drawing on the Getty pelike seems to me to go most closely with that on the fragmentary volute-kraters in Athens and Boston, the column-krater in Bari, and the two Nolans in Schwerin, all surely works from early in the painter's career. Beazley in *ARV*<sup>2</sup> applies the word "early" only (among these) to the first two; but in *Pan-Maler* (p. 15) he speaks of the Schwerin vases, and a related Nolan in Copenhagen with Hermes, as older than some of the painter's other vases of this shape, and as linking back to the Marpessa psykter in Munich, which is universally recognized as among the Pan Painter's earliest pieces.<sup>20</sup> Beazley dates the painter's activity between about 480 and 450 but remarks that the dating and even the rel-

ative order of this artist's works are difficult to establish.

Follmann makes a more elaborate attempt to group most of the vases in a dated sequence.<sup>21</sup> I cannot always follow her, and she seems at times too subtle, as when she places the two Schwerin Nolans, which I should guess had gone into the kiln together and never been parted, in two successive phases. But her view of what is early agrees in a general way with mine, and all these five pieces come into her three earliest groupings—the Boston fragment into the first, the Marpessa Group (490–480); the Schwerin Poseidon and the Bari column-krater into the second (about 480); and the Akropolis volute-krater and the Schwerin nereid into the third (480–470).

The Marpessa psykter seems, in its extreme and mannered elaboration, to stand a little apart from any other work of the painter. The drawing on our pelike, though not much less careful, seems stronger and more sensitive, and I should judge it to be a little later. I am not sure how valid our absolute dating in decades is, but on the conventional reckoning, I should put the Getty pelike around 480 or not long after. This gets perhaps some confirmation from consideration of another element in the design of the vase, which relates it to the work of other painters and potters.

If the figure-work is unmistakably the Pan Painter's, the same cannot be said of the ornament. The artist decorated a number of large pelikai, but this (which is among the largest) is the only one on which the pictures are framed; and there is no other appearance in the painter's work of a band of black silhouette palmettes. Seven very large pelikai with pictures framed just like these and with similar red-figure palmettes at the handles were put together by Beazley as the Class of Cabinet des Médailles 390.<sup>22</sup> Four of them are ascribed to the Syleus Painter in his youth ("Painter of the Würzburg Athena," *Att. V.*, 112; recognized as the first phase of the Syleus Painter, *ARV*<sup>1</sup> 164); the fifth is said to recall him; the sixth is given to the Siren

11. Bari 4402; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 550, no. 4; Follmann, pl. 12,1 (pls. 10–12 give a very useful collection of heads). Schwerin 1295; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 553, no. 37; Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 20,1; Follmann, pl. 12,2.

12. Boston 95.58; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 552, no. 21; Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 13,3; CB 2 supplement, pl. 11,4. Further discussion infra, with note 52.

13. Athens, Akr. 760; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 552, no. 20; Follmann, pl. 10,3 (photograph of Artemis' head); Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 12,2; Langlotz, pl. 65.

14. Schwerin 1304; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 553, no. 38; Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 20,2; Follmann, pl. 10,5.

15. On two small pelikai: Louvre C 10793; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 555, no. 92; E. B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*. The Athenian Agora, vol. 11 (Princeton, 1965), pl. 65a; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Munich, 1969), 308, fig. 295; and Berlin 1966.62; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1659, no. 91 bis (*Para*, 386); *Hesperia Art Bulletin* 22, no. 9. The larger and grimmer character on a column-krater in Naples (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 551, no. 13; Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 30,1) is less like our satyr. Compare also the frontal Nike and Eros on two early lekythoi in Oxford, 312 and 1920.58 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 556, nos. 102,

103; Beazley, *Panm.*, pls. 14,2 and 6,1).

16. Munich 2378; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 551, no. 9; Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 26,1.

17. Supra, note 14. In a Triptolemos scene by a late Mannerist, the Duomo Painter (column-krater, Würzburg 569; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1117, no. 5; Langlotz, Würzburg, pl. 194), the goddess in front of Triptolemos wears a crown with vertical leaves and a hastily drawn upside-down arcade like that on the Malibu pelike. She holds a scepter and a jug. Langlotz calls her Kore, and the goddess behind the seat, who wears a sakkos and holds two torches, he calls Demeter. I should prefer to reverse the names, but it is, as often, impossible to be sure.

18. E.g., Follmann, pl. 12,1–2. It is omitted again on the Boston fragment, supra, note 12. I speak for the sake of convenience of "myrtle," but the identification, though very likely, is not certain. It might be olive or laurel.

19. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 557, no. 121; Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 14,1.

20. Nolan: Copenhagen 4978; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 553, no. 36; *CV4*<sup>3</sup>, pl. 131a–c. Psykter: Munich 2417; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 556, no. 101; Beazley, *Panm.*, pls. 12,1 and

Painter; and the last is said to recall the Argos Painter. Becker<sup>23</sup> subsumed the Class as the earliest members of her XIX, Workshop of the Syleus Potter, a very large grouping which she sees as dominating pelike production for a couple of decades, taking over about 480 from her IV, Class of the Nikoxenos Painter's Pelikai. She notes some divergences between different members of Beazley's Class, but accepts its overall unity and the probability that it is the product of a single workshop. She associates two more vases with it: a fragmentary piece in Leningrad by the Flying-Angel Painter, which has been wildly restored, and a complete and very fine vase in Copenhagen by the Triptolemos Painter of which we shall have more to say.<sup>24</sup> Becker further points out that a small version of the same type is provided by the vases assigned by Beazley to the Painter of Louvre G 238 and described by him as "near the Flying-Angel Painter and linked by the maeander with the Geras and Argos Painters."<sup>25</sup> The last two are closely related to one another, and their pelikai (apart from a special Class of small ones by the Geras Painter which we shall be noticing later) are included by Becker in XIX. With the latest members of XIX she associates the Pan Painter's great Busiris pelike in Athens,<sup>26</sup> which she dates to the seventies or sixties. Another pelike fragment with border-patterns which suggest that the vase may have belonged to the Class of Cabinet des Médailles 390 is Athens, Akr. 620, placed by Beazley near the Syleus Painter.<sup>27</sup>

The Malibu vase surely goes into Becker's XIX, but one should perhaps be cautious of actually assigning it to the Class of Cabinet des Médailles 390. One hesitates to attribute so fragmentary a vase firmly to a Class. Besides, the incomparably finer drawing of the figure-work also sets the Malibu vase apart from other vases in the Class. In this last respect, however, the Triptolemos Painter's pelike in Copenhagen<sup>28</sup> goes with the Malibu vase, for there, too, the pattern-work, which is typical of the Class, is foreign to the painter's usual practice. Beazley did not put the

Copenhagen pelike in the Class, but Becker is surely right in associating it closely; and the idiosyncrasies in the potter-work that she points out are hardly greater than others she notes between vases in Beazley's list. Knauer has noted<sup>29</sup> that the maeander on one side is just like one used on two members of the Class, Louvre G 223 and 229 (one by the Syleus, the other by the Siren Painter). The form of the maeander is one of the points in which a good deal of variety is shown.

It has been observed that the Triptolemos Painter on occasion collaborated with the Flying-Angel Painter and that he also had a workshop connection with the Pan Painter.<sup>30</sup> The evidence suggested to Beazley that the works in question, though the Triptolemos Painter's drawing on them was still in purely archaic style, must date from a time when many vase-painters had already moved into an Early Classical phase. This seems irrefutable for the rather slight pelike from Rheneia,<sup>31</sup> the reverse of which was decorated by the Flying-Angel Painter in his late manner: the painter, though no innovator himself, shows clear influence from the new mood.

The Triptolemos Painter's connection with the Pan Painter is established by three very fragmentary stamnoi, two of which bear pictures by the former, the third a picture by the latter.<sup>32</sup> Beazley observed that technique and finish of the potting in one of the Triptolemos Painter's pieces was just like that in the Pan Painter's, while the Pan Painter's vase and the second Triptolemos Painter's vase had closely similar handle-ornaments and, under the pictures, rather poor maeanders apparently drawn by neither artist but for both by the same assistant.

The Pan Painter's career lies mainly in the Early Classical period. If this stamnos picture belongs to a mature phase of his work, then the Triptolemos Painter's two stamnoi, for all the archaic purity of their drawing, must be placed there too. As has been noted, however, the Pan Painter varies his style in ways that quite often make it difficult to

13,1; Lullies and Hirmer (supra, note 4), pls. 70-79.

21. Follmann, 21-47 (dated groups, 36-43).

22. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 254.

23. Becker, vol. 1, 48 and nos. 142-149.

24. Flying-Angel Painter: Leningrad 619; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 280, no. 15; Peredolskaya (supra, note 4), pl. 34,3-4; Becker no. 146. Triptolemos Painter: see infra, note 28.

25. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 283; Becker, nos. 150-153, 157.

26. Athens 9683; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 554, no. 82; Beazley, *Panm.*, pls. 7-10 and 11,1; Becker, vol. 1, 52 and no. 174. See supra, note 3.

27. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 254, near the top; Langlotz, pl. 48.

28. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg 2695; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 362, no. 19; Becker, vol. 1, 50 and no. 152; E. Knauer, *125 BWPr.* (1973), fig. 20; F. Poulsen, *Aus ein alter Etruskerstadt.* Det kgl. danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologisk Raekke, 12, 3 (Copenhagen, 1927), pls. 12-13, 14, fig. 25; *LIMC* 1, pl. 591, Amphitrite 78a (B).

29. E. Knauer (supra, note 28), 26 n. 86.

30. Beazley in K. Schauenburg, ed., *Charites.* Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft (Bonn, 1957), 138-139. Further links between the Triptolemos Painter and the Flying-Angel Painter have been observed by R. Guy (*AIA Abstracts* 3 [1978], 44) and by E. Knauer who is preparing a monograph on the Triptolemos Painter.

31. Mykonos; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 362, no. 21, and 280, no. 18; C. Dugas, *Les vases attiques à figure rouges.* Exploration Archéologique de Délos, vol. 21 (Paris, 1952), pl. 3,7; Becker, vol. 1, 43 and no. 133. The further links observed between the two artists (last note) confirm the late date for their collaboration.

32. Fragments of all three are in the Louvre: Pan Painter, C 10822, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 552, no. 22, part *LIMC* 1, pl. 123 Achilles 657; Triptolemos Painter 1, C 10834 (also Florence 19 B 41), *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 361, no. 3, (A) *Charites* (supra, note 30), pl. 18; Triptolemos Painter 2, C 10835, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 361, no. 5.

be sure how to place an individual piece in chronological relation to the rest. The style of drawing on the sparse fragments of this stamnos (showing Achilles at feast above the corpse of Hector) is unusual: highly elaborate and, though unquestionably the master's, not easy to parallel exactly in his work. I find it not inconceivable that it is early, of the same time as our vase though in a different manner, in some ways more reminiscent of the Marpessa psykter (one of the two Triptolemos Painter stamnoi had the not common subject of Marpessa). If this dating were correct, it would show the Triptolemos Painter working alongside the Pan Painter at an early stage in the latter's career and so probably not a late one in his own.

On balance, however, it seems to be unlikely that the Ransom of Hector fragments are to be placed so early in the Pan Painter's oeuvre. In some details the drawing, though more mannered and less pleasing, recalls that on the lovely dinos fragments in the Vlasto collection,<sup>33</sup> which is surely already mature work, though not late. This would put the Triptolemos Painter's collaboration with the Pan Painter in approximately the same period as his collaboration with the Flying-Angel Painter and would confirm the idea that he preserved a purely archaic style into a time when others had abandoned it.

The Pan and Triptolemos Painters have each a substantial body of work attributed to them, and hitherto there has been no sign of contact between them except in the case of these stamnoi. The Malibu and Copenhagen pelikai seem now to be further evidence for such contact, and one might therefore expect them to belong to the same time as the stamnos fragments. If the stamnoi are rightly placed in the Early Classical period, then the resemblance of the two pelikai to the Class of Cabinet des Médailles 390 must be a deliberate revival of an old fashion, rather as some Late Archaic painters revived the eye-cup.<sup>34</sup> I do not, however, think that this is the case. Becker's chronology suggests a date of around 480 or not long after for the Class of Cabinet des Médailles 390, and we have seen that just such a time seems probable on other grounds for the Getty vase. I should guess that the Pan Painter and the Triptolemos Painter were independently enlisted among the various artists who, in a situation which escapes us, were brought

together in the decoration of this Class of large pelikai soon after 480, and that they came together again, in different circumstances, at a later date.

Of course there are many other possible scenarios. The Malibu vase might indeed belong to the Class, but the Copenhagen one might be a later revival; or the stamnoi may really belong to the same early phase as the pelikai. Neither of these alternatives appears to me probable, but the question remains wide open. We may hope for further enlightenment from current studies of the Triptolemos Painter.<sup>35</sup> I should perhaps apologize for spending so much time on such an inconclusive investigation; but the question of relations between major artists and workshops seems to me of central importance at present in the study of Attic red-figure. We shall return briefly to the Copenhagen pelike in connection with subject matter.

On a second large pelike, found at Spina, the Pan Painter treated the subject of Triptolemos again.<sup>36</sup> The drawing is much weaker and is surely later than the Getty pelike. Beazley, when he first listed the vase (in *Der Pan-Maler*), noted its inferiority to the Busiris vase (the only other big pot of this shape then assigned to the painter). He was not even quite sure that it was from the master's hand, but he expressed no view then or later on its dating. Follmann does not list it among the pieces grouped by dating, but she appears to imply that it is contemporary with the Busiris vase, which she places 470–460. Becker associates it with her small section XI, which seems to cover some time.<sup>37</sup> I would suppose that it comes near the end of the artist's career, twenty years or more after the Getty vase.

The two Triptolemos pictures share an overall similarity of composition but reveal very different approaches to the theme. On the Spina vase Triptolemos again occupies the center, seated to the right (the normal direction). He wears a red-figure myrtle wreath (the leaves unribbed), and again his mantle is wrapped tightly round his knees, leaving the lower legs bare. Once more eight spokes are shown in the seat wheel, but this time both wings point backward. His mantle, which muffles him to the neck so that we cannot tell whether he wears a chiton beneath it, conceals his right arm and hand, while in the left he holds a scepter which rests on the footboard. Three goddesses are shown,

33. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 552, no. 38; Follmann, pls. 3 and 11.5. Beazley gives it neither an absolute nor a relative date. Follmann puts it in her very late Apollon-Artemis group (460–450). I should suppose that both this and the Pan krater itself, which she dates about 460, come a bit earlier in the artist's career, close to the Busiris pelike (supra, note 26, which she dates 470–460), with the dinos fragments perhaps being the earliest of the three.

34. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 51.

35. See supra, note 30.

36. Ferrara 1499; *ARV*, 554, no. 83; *CI/A* 1, pl. 1.4–5; N. Alfieri, *Spina* (Bologna, 1979), figs. 69–70. The pictures are not framed, but

there is much ornament: between the handles above each picture, upright palmette and lotus; all around the vase below the pictures, maeander with elaborate and unusual pattern-squares; under each handle, palmette and lotus complex. For the picture on the other side, see infra, with note 75.

37. Follmann, 37; Becker, vol. 1, 29–30, no. 94. Becker's XI is called "Spätere Peliken des Berliner Malers," but the three she lists by that painter (nos. 92, 92a, 93) are from his early to his middle period.

38. On Makron's skyphos each of the two named goddesses holds a torch in one hand. On the Altamura Painter's London volute-krater (E 469; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 589, no. 1; T. B. L. Webster, *Niobidenmaler* [Leipzig, 1935],

one behind Triptolemos and two, close together, in front of him. All three wear chiton and himation. The one immediately in front of Triptolemos stands frontally, looking toward him. Her hair is looped up, she wears a fillet adorned with upright leaves, and her himation has a crenellated border along its upper edge. She holds a torch in either hand. Beyond her a goddess stands in profile to the left, hair down her back, a crown with upright flowers on her head, right arm and hand concealed in the muffling mantle from which the left hand issues to hold a scepter. The third goddess, behind the seat, stands in profile to right, similarly muffled and likewise holding a scepter; one cannot tell in which hand as it is hidden behind the wing. Her hair, too, is down her back, and she wears a leafless stephane.

Three goddesses appear in this scene on Makron's skyphos also, where all figures are named. There the third goddess is the local nymph, Eleusis, who stands at the extreme right lifting her skirt with one hand, a flower in the other, but without distinguishing attribute. Alfieri and Arias give the same name to the third figure on the Spina vase, the one behind Triptolemos, and they think that the two torches distinguish Kore in the center from her mother who holds a scepter on the right. I do not think this is a safe assumption<sup>38</sup> and prefer to interpret the three differently. On a lekythos in Leningrad of earlier and finer style the Pan Painter drew a goddess holding a torch in either hand.<sup>39</sup> There are slight differences from the torch holder on the Spina vase: on the lekythos the upright leaves of the headdress are set on a patterned crown instead of a fillet, the hair is loose, the chiton dotted, and the border of the himation runs along its lower edge and is not crenellated. Also, the torches are held to the other side. The two figures, however, are so alike in conception and pose that I find it impossible to believe that the artist did not intend to represent the same person. The figure on the lekythos was first published as Artemis, but Beazley questioned this, suggesting that she might be Hekate, or possibly the mother of a mortal bride.<sup>40</sup> This last suggestion, which Beazley dropped in *ARV*<sup>2</sup> where he calls her "Hekate(?)," is not in question for the Spina vase; but I see the two sceptered figures at the edges there as Demeter and Kore and the third as Hekate, who is constantly shown with two

torches.<sup>41</sup> On a vase from later in the century Demeter pours wine into a phiale held by Triptolemos, and behind her stands a frontal figure with a torch in either hand and the name Hekate written beside her.<sup>42</sup>

No grain is shown in the Spina picture. Surprisingly, this is the case in a good many pictures of the scene; but in all others I know where the grain is omitted, the libation for departure is taking place.<sup>43</sup> The wheel in the Spina picture does not rest on the ground, so the winged seat is thought of as airborne or taking off, but the effect of the quiet, muffled figures with their scepters is to suggest less a scene of action than a formal presentation of cult figures. On the Malibu vase the articulation of the far wing and its forward reach have a restless air, emphasizing the dramatic moment—the actual handing over of the grain to be followed swiftly by departure.

Much nearer in feeling to this than is the Pan Painter's own later vase is the beautiful skyphos in London—already mentioned—which Makron painted for the potter Hieron<sup>44</sup> (figs. 2a–d). On that vase the painter presents a larger cast and has chosen as his motif the action that follows the handing over of the grain. The figures under the handles and on the back of the vase (all, like those on the front, with their names written beside them) are linked to the main scene. We shall return to them, but for the moment we may consider the Mission picture alone.

We have already noticed Eleusis at the right-hand end. She wears a stephane with upright leaves, and her himation, worn like a shawl over both shoulders, is brought up over her hair. In front of her stands Kore (named Pherophatta), her hair looped up under the stephane, which again has upright leaves and is more elaborately decorated than that of Eleusis. She has a necklace, and her himation, worn in the usual way over the left shoulder but kilted up so that only the hanging corners reach below the knees, has a crenellated and dotted border along both upper and lower edge. She holds a torch in her left hand and in her right a metal jug, raised to pour wine into the phiale that Triptolemos (*sic*) holds in his right hand. He has a myrtle wreath with unribbed leaves, loose hair and a light growth of whisker, long chiton and himation worn normally, and in his left hand he lifts the grain. Both wings of the seat reach back—

pl. 1), three goddesses each hold a torch in one hand. In front of Triptolemos stands Kore(?) with a jug in the other; beyond her Demeter(?), grain in the other; the third goddess stands behind the chair, with the other hand empty (Hekate?—see *infra* with notes 41 and 42).

39. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 556, no. 111; Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 17,2 (and see next note).

40. Beazley, *Panm.*, 24, no. 50 (Beazley, *Pan P.*, 14, no. 61).

41. E.g., on the Persephone Painter's name vase (bell-krater, New York 28.57.23; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1012, no. 1; Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, fig. 556) where she lights the way for Kore to meet her mother who stands waiting with a scepter; the Peleus Painter's name vase (calyx-krater, Ferrara T.617; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1038, no. 1; Alfieri [*supra*, note 36], fig. 148), where she seems to act the part

of the bride's mother; her name is written next to her on both vases.

42. Hydria, London E 183; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1191, no. 1; *CVA*, pl. 84,2. Hekate is named also in a Triptolemos scene on a calyx-krater in Duke University by Polygnotos: *Para*, 442, no. 27 bis.

43. It has been questioned whether the libation is really for Triptolemos' departure, partly because of the occasional omission of the grain. See G. Schwartz, *Öjh* 50 (1972/73), Hauptblatt, p. 131, with earlier references.

44. London E 140; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 459, no. 3.



Figure 2a. Skyphos with the name of Hieron as potter, painted by Makron (Side A). London, British Museum E 140. Photo: Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.

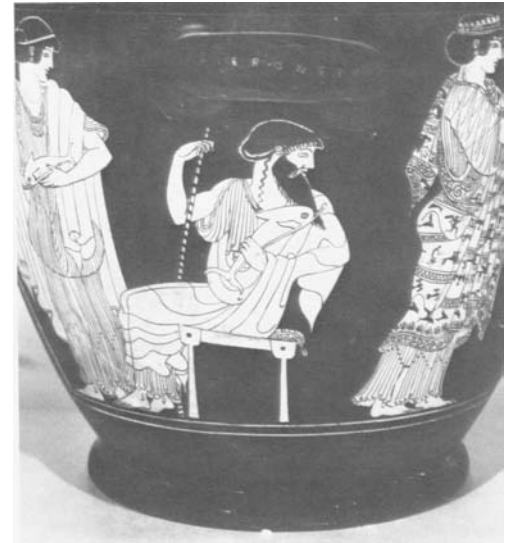


Figure 2b. Handle B/A of skyphos, figure 2a. Photo: Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2c. Side B of skyphos, figure 2a. Photo: Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2d. Handle A/B of skyphos, figure 2a. Photo: Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.

ward, and between wing and wheel is tucked a rearing snake. Only the four spokes of the near wheel are shown, but the tail of the far snake is distinguished. Behind him stands Demetre (*sic*), nearer the spectator than the wing. She wears a patterned crown with crenellations, and her himation, draped normally, is woven all over with bands of figures separated by narrower strips of ornament. She holds both hands forward, with grain in the left, torch in the right.

On the Malibu vase the Pan Painter showed the moment at which Demeter hands Triptolemos the grain, but the next move is anticipated by the libation-jug in the hand of Kore behind the seat. One might have expected her to hold a phiale in her other hand, but the way the arm is raised makes this unlikely, and the trace remaining behind Triptolemos' head cannot belong to a bowl. If that is really part of something held by Kore, it may have been a torch. Makron's picture shows the scene a few moments later (fig. 2a). The mother has retired behind the seat, the daughter comes forward, and the libation, which immediately precedes departure, is in progress. The two pictures have in common rich detail and fine drawing, and they seem alike in spirit, too. We shall find a link between the reverse of Makron's skyphos and the other picture on the Getty pelike, to which we must now turn.

The Mission of Triptolemos is a popular subject in Attic vase-painting at this period, and the Pan Painter's rendering here, though with its own particularities, presents no serious problems of interpretation. The situation is widely different for the picture on the other side. That it is Dionysiac is not in doubt. The presence of a satyr and maenad and of the vine which spreads over the background makes that certain. One might at first be tempted to take the figure in the center for the god himself, but that will not do. The fact that the wreath is probably myrtle, certainly not ivy, is not conclusive against the identification. The ivy wreath is the norm for Dionysos (and indeed for his companions too), but there are unquestionable examples of the god wearing myrtle, and at least one close in time and character to this vase.<sup>45</sup> We shall come back to this question, but there are other reasons for thinking that the central figure in this picture cannot be Dionysos. First the

action—stooping with bent knees to lead forward an animal is surely not a god's way. A second point is perhaps even more significant. When a vine is shown in a Dionysiac context, it is normally held by, or at least set close beside the god himself. If that is the case here, then Dionysos must have appeared in the lacuna on the right, which would make sense of the respectful approach by the central figure with his animal.

So far I think we can be sure, but I feel no certainty about the reconstruction in the lacuna. The most serious question, perhaps, is whether it contained one figure or two. If there is only one, then the god himself held up the knife or knives. Alternatively one could think that the role of a companion, a satyr or maenad probably. If there was such a figure, it must have stood beyond the god, overlapped by him, whether he himself were standing or seated.<sup>46</sup> The back of a head and the hair lying down the back below it (fig. 1a) must surely be Dionysos'. There is not much room to accommodate a second head between this and the hand with the knife, but it could be done. The god's head is considerably nearer the upper border than that of the central figure, and (even though that figure is bending) if Dionysos were seated on a throne, it must have stood on some sort of dais.<sup>47</sup>

The artist several times draws hair like the god's here: a long hank in solid black lying down the back and splaying out in separate strands at the end. He gives much the same coiffure to Triptolemos on the Spina vase and very likely also on ours, but here combined with loose locks on the shoulders.<sup>48</sup> A closely similar rendering of hair from a figure that, like ours, is otherwise lost is given on the beautiful volute-krater fragment in Boston.<sup>49</sup> By an odd chance the bearded and myrtle-wreathed head which survives intact on that fragment is one of the best parallels in the painter's work to the central figure in our picture.

The interpretation of the Boston fragment is of interest to us. Again a vine spreads in the background, and one of the two heads must be Dionysos'. Beazley at first assumed that his was the surviving wreathed one, then hesitated, inclining to the largely lost one on the right for the wine god, but finally, he came to think his first opinion more likely.<sup>50</sup> It seems probable that it was the myrtle wreath

45. See Beazley, *AJA* 43 (1939), 631; CB 2 (1954), 45, no. 93; *AntK* 1 (1958), 6. Among certain examples the nearest in time and character to ours is on a hydria by the Kleophrades Painter (*AntK* 1 [1958], 5–8, figs. 1–8 on pls. 2–5; there dated about 480). See further *infra*, with notes 50 and 51.

46. A pair of figures side by side and overlapping is found in the painter's work on a neck-amphora in Naples: Stg. 225; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 553, no. 32; *Jb* 76 (1961), 68, fig. 24; Follmann, pl. 12,6 (heads). There, however, the picture is of a pipe duet, and the two figures, standing in the center of the scene, are equal, not one subordinate to the other.

47. For an alternative possibility, see *infra*, with notes 70–72.

48. A variant scheme shows the ends turned up and tied in a little bag, e.g., Artemis' on the name vase and on a charming late lekythos, London E 579 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 557, no. 117; Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 25, 1). This fashion was favored by the Pan Painter's imitator, the Alkimachos Painter.

49. *Supra*, with note 12; and see next note.

50. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), 116; *Att. V.* (1925), 100, no. 4 (in these he takes the surviving wreathed head to be Dionysos); Beazley, *Panm.*, 21, no. 15 (the other more probable); *ARV* (1942), 362, no. 17 (non-committal:





Figure 3. Pelike by the Eucharides Painter (side A). Formerly Basel art market (MuM.). Photo: Widmer.



Figure 4. Chous. Athens, National Museum 19.390. Photo: Courtesy National Museum.

that caused him to hesitate over this identification; and when he returned to it, he pointed out that this was not an insuperable bar. At that time he did not know the Kleophrades Painter's hydria, and when he came to publish that, he did not mention this fragment,<sup>51</sup> but it is the strongest confirmation that the myrtle-wreathed head on the fragment may be Dionysos. That idea is now further strengthened by the appearance on the Malibu fragment of a myrtle wreath in a certainly Dionysiac context. The identification on the Boston fragment, however, remains open. Like as the head is to that on the Getty pelike, it is even nearer to (almost a replica of) Poseidon's on the Bari column-krater, and the same god's on the Schwerin Nolan is closely similar.<sup>52</sup> It evidently corresponded to the young artist's concept of the sea-god, and it would not surprise me if he were the myrtle-wreathed god on the Boston fragment, too, back to back with Dionysos in some gathering of deities. The two are not often particularly associated, but on Makron's skyphos they are near neighbors, separated only by Poseidon's wife, Amphitrite, and they do appear together on a few vases of this time.<sup>53</sup>

To return to the Getty picture: we can, I think, say that it showed Dionysos on the right, standing or seated, alone or with a companion. He (or the other figure if there was one) holds up the knife or knives, and the animal which the central figure is bringing up must therefore be for sacrifice. I think that the way the weapon is held, even if there is only one, cannot be for the stroke, but simply for display; but whichever is intended, I know nothing like it. We may also note that if the palmette-topped shaft is a scepter, that is most unusual for Dionysos. I know no other case in which his staff is other than a thyrsos or an ivy stick; and we may further note that in what survives of this scene there is no thyrsos and no ivy wreath, unusual omissions from a Dionysiac picture. Before we consider the meaning of a scene which has so many peculiar features, we must look at not the least of these: what is going on at the left, behind the central figure.

The tall, mushroom-shaped object covered with black ivy leaves is strange, but it would be hard to see it as anything but an ivy-covered tree, and there are a few parallels

"gods"); CB 2 (1954), 45, no. 92 (probably the surviving head; parallels cited for myrtle-wreath).

51. *AntK* 1 (1958), 6.

52. *Supra*, note 11.

53. Makron's skyphos: *supra*, with note 44, and further *infra*. Poseidon appears with Dionysos on two red-figure stamnoi of around this time: Louvre G 184 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 296, Troilos Painter no. 6; *CVA*, pl. 15,7-8; side A, Dionysos, Poseidon, Hermes, goddess; side B, warrior's departure); and London E 455 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 217, top no. 1, late manner of Berlin Painter; *CVA*, pl. 21,5; side A, Judgment of Paris; side B, Nike pouring wine for Poseidon, Dionysos standing behind her). There are also black-figure examples, notably a late neck-amphora in Würzburg (Würzburg



which make the identification certain. One we shall be considering later; another is on a pelike of much the same date by the Eucharides Painter<sup>54</sup> (fig. 3). Here the branches issuing all the way up leave no doubt that a tree is meant. What one might at first glance take as similar branches from the side of the Pan Painter's tree, immediately above the maenad's head, are actually an extension of the vine; but above those a dead branch is in fact drawn, issuing from the spreading top of the tree (fig. 1i), and another on the other side, above the vine over the central figure's head (fig. 1h). The trees on the two vases are of different kinds. The Eucharides Painter's tall, narrow one with no pronounced area of spread, might be a cypress; the wide top of the other suggests a pine or a deciduous tree. The two plants occupy the same position on vases of the same shape, though the Eucharides Painter's is a much smaller and slighter piece, but the one on that vase and the pillar which closes the picture on the other side are only topographical adjuncts (if symbolic ones) to the erotic scene. On the Pan Painter's vase the tree is certainly a significant feature of great interest to two of the actors. I conclude that the Eucharides Painter very probably borrowed the motif from the Pan Painter or from some related painting.

What is the interest of the maenad and satyr in this tree? Surely the ivy which covers it; and this, taken together with the absence of ivy wreaths and thyrsos, gives, I think, a key to the whole scene. This is plainly not an ordinary Dionysiac revel, but all the points in which it is peculiar can be explained if we see it as the *beginning*. On the other side of the vase Demeter sends out her chosen mortal, Triptolemos, to bring the gift of grain to mankind. On this side Dionysos offers the earth's other great gift, the vine, to a mortal protégé, who corresponds to Demeter's Triptolemos. This, the figure in the center of the picture, is most probably to be named Ikarios.<sup>55</sup> Dionysos has brought him the vine (whether it is shown still held in the god's hand or already planted) and demands a sacrifice from him. Ikarios brings up the victim, and Dionysos or his minion shows him the knife he must use. Meanwhile two of the god's train, foraging around, have made a new and wonderful discovery: a mass of bright leaves festooning a dead

tree—ivy. Soon they will make wreaths and thyrsos heads from it, and it will become one of the constant and central features of Dionysiac worship and life.

By a lucky chance we have a picture which seems to follow immediately on this little scene. It is on a fragmentary chous in Athens (fig. 4),<sup>56</sup> which is a generation later than our vase though I suppose the Pan Painter might still have been working when it was painted, sometime around mid-century. Beazley must have known it but does not list it. In his admirable publication, Bezerra de Meneses places it, surely rightly, in the circle of the Villa Giulia and Euaion Painters, the "academic wing" of Early Classical vase-painting. It shows an ivy-covered tree with a maenad on the left and a satyr on the right. Bezerra de Meneses (followed by Coche de La Ferté) suggests that what is shown is the worship of Dionysos Dendrites, the god as tree. The tree shown in this picture is the natural form imitated in the stake with a mask of the god attached, which is shown on the so-called Lenear vases. He points out that on one of these the stake is wreathed with ivy.<sup>57</sup> This was a reasonable and probable suggestion; but the picture on our vase, unknown to these scholars, makes it necessary to think again. It does not seem possible to me to separate the two pictures. Both the action of satyr and maenad and the context make it implausible to interpret the Pan Painter's picture as illustrating the worship of Dionysos Dendrites. If my explanation of it is right, then the Empedokles chous gives the next moment. With both hands the maenad holds out a wreath: the first ivy wreath, which she has just made with strands plucked from the tree. The satyr bends forward, as though he hopes she will put it on his head (which is already bound with a fillet); but his hand too is raised toward the wreath, and perhaps they will rather take it together to Dionysos, who will wear it. Later they will find a fennel stalk and tie a bunch of ivy leaves to that, and it will become the god's scepter and the chief badge of his followers.

The stories of Triptolemos and Ikarios make a natural pair. Teiresias in Euripides' *Bacchae* draws an explicit parallel between Demeter with her gift of bread and Dionysos with his of wine,<sup>58</sup> but he does not mention the mortal

194; not in *ABV*; Langlotz, Würzburg, pl. 58; E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder*, vol. 1 [Berlin, 1840–1858], pl. 47), and a lost neck-amphora (not in *ABV*; Gerhard, *AV* 1, pl. 48). On the first, Dionysos riding a bull on one side is paired with Poseidon riding a bull on the other; on the second, Poseidon with lowered trident is led by Hermes to Dionysos and Ariadne with silens (B, warriors' departure). See T. Panofka, *Poseidon und Dionysos* (Berlin, 1845).

54. Basel market (*MuM Sonderliste R*, December 7, 1977, lot 50; not in Beazley; Becker, vol. 1, 134 and no. 107a). I am grateful to R. Guy for bringing this vase to my attention, and to Herbert Cahn for the photograph and permission to publish it (photo: Widmer). For the other example, see *infra*, with note 56.

55. See *infra*, with note 62.

56. Athens, N.M. 13.390 (Empedokles); not in Beazley; U. T. Bezerra de Meneses, *BCH* 87 (1963), 309–321, figs. 1–2; E. Coche de La Ferté in R. Bloch, *Recherches sur les religions de l'antiquité classique* (Paris, 1980), fig. vii with text to it. I am grateful to Ruth Glynn and Tom Carpenter of the Beazley Archive for bringing this vase to my attention, and to Dr. Alexandri of the National Museum in Athens for the photograph and permission to publish it.

57. Bezerra de Meneses (*supra*, note 56), 315–319, figs. 5 (ivied stake) and 6.

58. Lines 278–285. Dodds in his *Euripides Bacchae*, (Oxford, 1944), *ad loc.*, quotes Euripides' contemporary, Prodikos, in a similar sense. Also,

intermediaries through whom these blessings were spread. Many centuries later Nonnus in his *Dionysiaka* told the story of Ikarios at length and expressly paralleled it with that of Demeter's emissary Triptolemos (claiming the god's gift as the better one). This is much the fullest version we have of the legend of Dionysos and Ikarios; the others are all late—Apollodorus, Hyginus, and a scholiast on Homer.<sup>59</sup> It is certain, however, that it was the subject of a poem by Eratosthenes in the third century B.C.,<sup>60</sup> and it is just possible that it was treated in the fifth century in lost plays which bore the same name as the Hellenistic poem, *Erigone*. Erigone hanged herself, and her story was told as an *aition* of the swinging ritual (*aïora*) at the Attic festival Anthesteria. In the story of Ikarios this Erigone is his daughter, but there is another version in which she is the daughter of Aigisthos, and it is quite uncertain which was the subject of plays recorded by Phrynichus, Sophocles, and Kleophon.<sup>61</sup>

The story of Ikarios tells, with minor variations, how Dionysos came to him with the gift of the vine and showed him how to make wine from the fruit; how, at the god's behest, he carried the good news and the potion to others; and how he was killed by peasants who, after enjoying the early stages of drunkenness, concluded in the hangover that they had been poisoned or bewitched. They hid Ikarios' body under a tree, but it was found by his faithful bitch, Maira, who led his daughter Erigone to the spot, where she hanged herself from a bough. The Attic deme of Ikaria was certainly from Archaic times an important center for the worship of Dionysos, and it is a reasonable guess that this is an old local legend. Other names, however, associated with other localities, are mentioned by late writers in connection with the reception of the god in Attica: King Amphiktyon, and Pegasos of Eleutherai.<sup>62</sup> In the absence of early literary sources we must keep an open mind on the actual name to be given to the figure on our vase and to others on archaic vases to be discussed in a moment. Ikarios seems to me the most likely, and I therefore use that, but with this caution. The important point is that our vase shows Dionysos endowing a mortal with the vine as a gift for mankind, just as Demeter endows Triptolemos with grain in the other picture.

Nonnus describes Ikarios as a rustic clown, something of

a figure of fun. The richly clad and noble figure on the Pan Painter's vase is differently conceived, a worthy counterpart to prince Triptolemos of Eleusis. The short patterned garment he wears over his long chiton has some likeness to a kind of "tabard" worn by Dionysos on a vase by the Berlin Painter and by a maenad on a vase by the Andokides Painter,<sup>63</sup> but the latter is quite without folds and evidently of very stiff material indeed. Although so little is preserved of Kore in the other picture, she is clearly wearing a garment identical to Ikarios', and I suppose it is a ritual vestment. Neither Nonnus nor any of the other surviving sources tell directly of the inauguration of sacrifice to Dionysos, but there is some reason to think that it did figure in the story. Hyginus relates how a goat damaged the vines and Ikarios killed it and from its skin made the first *askos* to hold wine. He quotes a line from Eratosthenes, which appears slightly corrupt but is easily emended to say that in Ikaria they first danced around a goat. Hyginus associates this with *askoliasmos*, the game of balancing on inflated and greasy wineskins, which was apparently part of the fun at the Dionysia at Athens; but Hiller concluded, as did Powell,<sup>64</sup> that it must in fact refer to the sacrifice of a goat. It is easy to understand how the story of the killing of a peccant goat could be fused with one about the initiation of goat sacrifice. The goat is the regular victim in sacrifices to Dionysos. It is true that goats on Attic vases tend to be shaggier than the animal in our picture appears, but very little of it is left, and the degree of shagginess varies greatly. A goat it must surely be. A relatively smooth one appears on a vase only a little later than this one, in a context of great interest to us.

This is a janiform kantharos from Spina,<sup>65</sup> with the front head depicting Dionysos and the rear a satyr. Beazley assigned the satyr head to his Class K (Toronto Class) and the red-figure pictures to the Syriskos Painter (perhaps school pieces). Alfieri dates it 480–460, and I would suppose that it comes nearer the end than the beginning of that span. In the picture above the Dionysos face the god appears again, seated on the ground to left with a cushion behind him; in his left hand is a vine, one branch of which disappears behind his right leg after passing in front of his right arm, which is stretched forward with a large kantharos

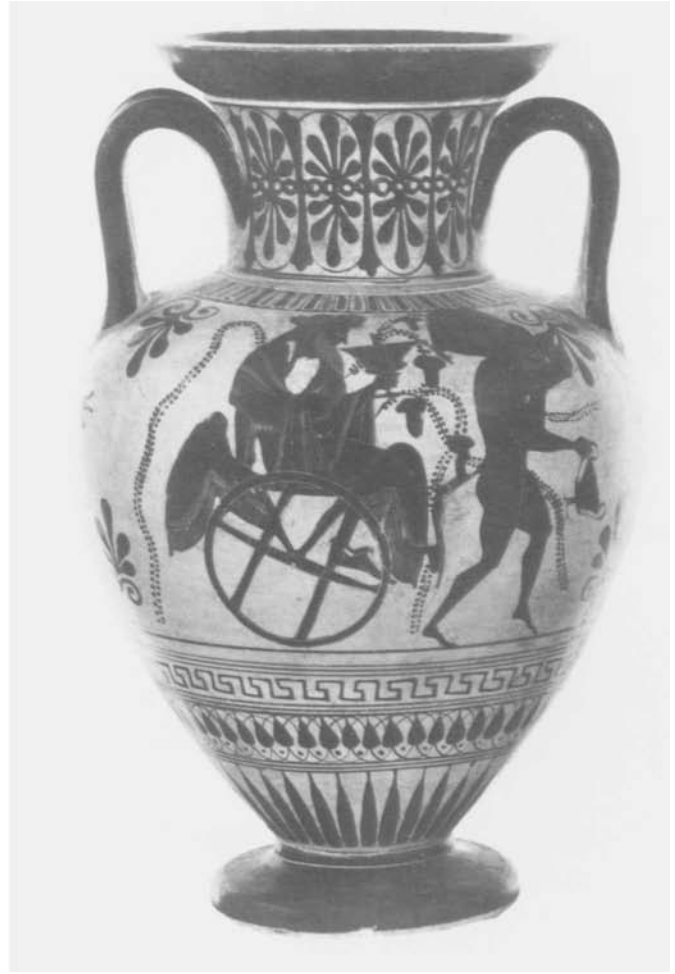
nearer the time of our vase, see Pindar, *Isthm.*, 7, 3–5, where the poet speaks of Dionysos as seated by Demeter.

59. Nonnus, *Dion.*, 47, 34–425 (comparison, 45–55). Apollodorus, iii 14,1 (coupling Ikarios' welcome of Dionysos with Keleos' of Demeter at Eleusis). Hyginus, *Poet. Astr.* II, 4 (see *infra*, with notes 60, 64). Schol. *Il.*, 10, 27. See *RE* and W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Hildesheim, 1965) s.vv. "Ikarios," "Erigone," and "Maira."

60. E. Hiller, *Eratosthenis carminum reliquiae* (1872), 94–114, frags. 27–34; J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925), 64ff., frag.

22–28b; E. Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Graec.*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1925), 236, frag. 5.

61. See A. C. Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1917), 173–176; S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 4, *Sophocles* (Göttingen, 1977), 232f., frags. 235, 236. E. Maass tried to show (*Philologus* 77 [Leipzig, 1921], 1–25) that Sophocles' *Erigone* was a satyr play on the theme of Dionysos and Ikarios. His thesis has met with little acceptance and is certainly not proven, but we may keep an open mind on R. Pfeiffer's dictum (*Kallimachosstudien* [Munich, 1922], 107 n. 1) that it is improbable that any pre-Hellenistic poet treated the story of Erigone, daughter of Ikarios.



Figures 5a–b. Neck-amphora by the Priam Painter. Left: side A; right: side B. Compiègne, Musée Vivienel 975. Photo: Hutin.

toward a pointed amphora leaning at his feet. On the other side, above the satyr face, is a table with a bell-krater underneath it, and stretched out on the table, feet in air, is the carcass of a he-goat. At the head (on the left side of the picture) a man in a short chiton, patterned loin-cloth, and shoes (working garb) stoops over it, busy with a knife; at the tail a chubby child, naked but for shoes, holds the goat steady by the hind legs. Much of the upper part of the figure scene is missing, including the man's head and shoulders and the upper part of the child's head and face, but between them, above the goat's forelegs, hangs a knife case

of the kind we have already noticed in a context of sacrifice.<sup>62</sup> The animal here has surely been sacrificed to the god in the picture on the other side. Hair is lightly indicated on the body in brown, but the contours are smoothly drawn.

A cup by the Heidelberg Painter of around the mid-sixth century shows in the tondo two identical figures facing each other: bearded, ivy wreath, long chiton, fringed himation muffling the right arm, drinking horn in the left hand. Either figure by himself would be identified without hesitation as Dionysos, but Beazley suggested that the *doppelgänger* might be Ikarios.<sup>63</sup> Several slightly later pictures

62. Paus. I,2,4, with a mention of Ikarios (cf. 20,2; 38,8); Schol. *Aristoph. Acharn.*, p. 383 G.

63. Berlin Painter; neck-amphora, Munich 8766 (*Para.* 342, to *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1700, no. 21 bis; *MüJb* 31, [1980], 6–9, figs. 1–2); Andokides Painter: amphora, New York 63.11.6 (*Para.* 320, to *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1617, no. 2 bis; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. A Handbook* [London, 1975], fig. 6). See *MüJb* 31 [1980], 7.

64. Hiller (supra, note 60), 105–109, frag. 33; Powell, (supra, note 60), 64, frag. 22.

65. Ferrara T.256 B VP; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 266, no. 85, and 1537, no. 5. N. Alfieri,

*Spina* (Bologna, 1979), 9–10, figs. 25–27.

66. See supra, with note 3.

67. Louvre CA 576; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 63, no. 3; Beazley, *JHS* 51 (1931), 278, no. 3, and 283, figs. 25–27. The unexplained subjects of the exterior might conceivably be associable with some form of the Ikarios story: side A, three bearded men capering naked between two pairs of bearded men standing clothed with spears; side B, between a pair of standing, bearded men, two pairs of youths, one on left with a dog, converging on a bearded man moving left, all with spears and clothed, the youths in chlamys only.

by the Affecter show Dionysos handing a kantharos to a bearded man; these have been, rather hesitantly, interpreted in the same way.<sup>68</sup> The decorative character of the Affecter's work and his evident lack in general of narrative or dramatic interest have made scholars understandably loath to build much on his representation. But if my interpretation of the far more detailed and specific scene on the Pan Painter's vase is right, it adds strength to the idea that Ikarios may be meant in these Archaic pictures.

The Mission of Triptolemos begins to appear in Attic vase-painting in the third quarter of the sixth century, when the Affecter seems to have been active, but he has left no picture of it. It is not very popular in black-figure and not very often associated with Dionysiac scenes,<sup>69</sup> but there is one exceptional piece which is of peculiar interest for our enquiry. On one side of a neck-amphora now in Compiègne (figs. 5a–b)<sup>70</sup> the Priam Painter, rather late in the sixth century, drew Triptolemos on his wheeled seat with grain in both hands and Hermes walking in front looking back at him. Triptolemos is bearded and the seat has no wings; these are both regular features in black-figure representations though not in red-figure. The artist has paired this with a unique scene on the other side of the vase. A satyr walks in front, like Hermes in the picture of Triptolemos, with a kantharos in his left hand, the right hand raised to steady a large amphora on his left shoulder. Behind him comes a winged seat with a cart-wheel (quite different from the chariot wheel Triptolemos' seat always has).<sup>71</sup> On this sits Dionysos, or a figure indistinguishable from Dionysos: beard, ivy wreath, chiton and himation, kantharos in the left hand, vine with clusters in the right. The painter is making the parallel between the two great gifts as clearly and strongly as the Pan Painter or Nonnus. As noticed in note 70, Triptolemos and Ikarios are paired in an identical way, traveling on wheeled seats, on another black-figure amphora that is now lost, and more than a century ago Strube suggested that the "Dionysos" should really be called Ikarios. That is possible; but there is no

tradition of Ikarios being sent out into the world, like Triptolemos, to spread the deity's gift; indeed such a mission is incompatible with his story as we have it. I find it easier to suppose that, though the parallel with Triptolemos is certainly explicitly made on these two black-figure vases, what they actually show is the god himself bringing the vine to Ikarios. The winging of one seat and not the other by the Priam Painter might possibly be meant to set the god off from the mortal. If the tiny curved arc of relief line at the edge of the loose fragment of the Pan Painter's vase (fig. 1g)<sup>72</sup> is compass-drawn (it is too small for one to be sure), it could be from a wheel-rim, and we should have here Dionysos neither standing nor seated on a throne, but on a wheeled seat like Triptolemos on the other side. The palmette-topped shaft would then be the seat back. Triptolemos' seat is most often a backless stool, but on at least one example it has a tall, vertical back ending in a griffin head.<sup>73</sup>

I am aware of no red-figure vase other than the Pan Painter's pelike which presents the parallel between Triptolemos and Ikarios so clearly, but a number show the Mission of Triptolemos balanced by a conventional Dionysiac revel. A splendid example is a volute-krater at Stanford recently published by Isabelle and Antony Raubitschek with a convincing ascription to the Kleophon Painter and a most valuable survey of the Triptolemos theme, which on the Stanford vase has very unusual features.<sup>74</sup> The Dionysiac picture on the back is linked to the other by the movement and glance of Pan (named) under one handle.

On some vases the picture of Triptolemos is balanced by one which relates to him in a slightly different aspect—not as the emissary to mankind bearing a divine gift, but as the mortal protégé of a deity or deities. Thus on the Spina pelike the Pan Painter pairs Triptolemos and the Eleusinian goddesses on one side with, on the other, a youth receiving shield and helmet from a woman, with a second woman bearing greaves and a warrior in attendance. Beyond reasonable doubt they are Achilles and his goddess-mother

68. *ABV*, 241ff., nos. 23, 34, 37, 44, 46, 60, and 89; H. Mommsen, *Der Affecter* (Mainz, 1975), nos. 59, 70, 87, 92, 103, 106, and 109, pls. 67, 75, 94, 101, 115, 119, and 123.

69. Three black-figure neck-amphorae that do have such a pairing are listed by I. and A. Raubitschek in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson*. *Hesperia*, supplement 20 (1982), 110 n. 7. This important article gives full reference to earlier discussions of Triptolemos' Mission in Attic vase-painting and lists the black-figure examples (109f., n. 3). See further infra with note 74.

70. Musée Vivenel 975; *ABV*, 331, no. 13; Gerhard (supra, note 53), pl. 41; *CVA*, pl. 10; *AJA* 82 (1978), 376, figs. 5–6. I am most grateful to C. Lapointe, Director, Musée Vivenel, for the photographs (cliché Hutin) and permission to publish them. Hammond and Moon (*AJA* 82 [1978], 376) see the Dionysos picture as a "parody" of the Triptolemos; see also W. Moon, *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison, 1983),

117 n. 45 (in a study of other aspects of this interesting painter's iconography and style on which a fuller work is promised).

The two principal figures, without their attendants, were shown also on the two sides of a lost black-figure neck-amphora (Lenormant collection) of the same date: Lenormant and de Witte, *El*, vol. 3, pl. 49A; Overbeck, *KM*, pls. 5a–b and 15; A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1914–1940), 214, figs. 5a–b. Triptolemos carries a scepter as well as the grain ears, and the seats of both have chariot wheels without wings. As noted by Cook, loc. cit., n. 1, C. Strube (*Studien über dem Bildkreis von Eleusis* [Leipzig, 1870], 8) suggested that the Dionysiac figure here was Ikarios, Dionysos' protégé paired with Demeter's. I owe this important reference to Dr. Gerda Schwarz of Graz, who is preparing a book on Triptolemos.

71. The cart wheel is really more suitable to the traveling seat than the chariot wheel, since chariots were built for standing in and carts for sitting in. Good examples can be seen on the Amasis Painter's wedding

Thetis, with a nereid and either Patroklos or Antilochos, depending on whether this is the first or second suit of armor.<sup>75</sup> The pelike by the Triptolemos Painter in Copenhagen<sup>76</sup> has identically composed pictures on either side. On one is a unique rendering of Triptolemos. He sits (named) to left on a stool with a patterned cloth over it. He is bearded (as normally in black-figure but almost never in red-figure); his hair is looped up under a myrtle wreath. He holds a scepter in his left hand, leaning it against his shoulder, right hand extended with a phiale into which a standing goddess pours from a jug, while she lifts grain in her left hand. Behind Triptolemos stands the second goddess with a wreath in both hands. The reverse of the painter's name vase, a stamnos in the Louvre with a normal Triptolemos picture on the front,<sup>77</sup> shows a bearded figure, the twin of the Copenhagen Triptolemos but not named, standing frontal, scepter in left hand, empty phiale in right, between two flaming altars. Behind the altar on the left stands a goddess with a torch in either hand; behind the other altar the second goddess is pouring wine on the flames from a jug. The bearded figure has been called Keleos or Pluton, but as Beazley points out,<sup>78</sup> "the persons on B might be expected to be the same as on the Ny Carlsberg pelike." To suggest on this evidence, as he very tentatively does, that the inscription on the pelike might be a mistake, seems bad method. Perhaps in both cases we might see the man as the mature Triptolemos, back in Eleusis, his mission completed.

On the other side of the Copenhagen pelike a youth sits to the left on a stool with a patterned cloth, exactly like Triptolemos on the front but with nothing in his hands. Behind him a female figure stands with a wreath in both hands, again exactly like the goddess behind Triptolemos on the other side. The standing figure in front on this side, however, is Poseidon, trident in right hand, fish in left, and the picture undoubtedly shows Theseus between Poseidon and Amphitrite: another mortal with his divine patrons. On the Frankfort cup with the name of Brygos as potter,

Triptolemos' Mission is balanced by the punishment of Aglauros and Herse: Demeter's good boy against Athena's bad girls.<sup>79</sup> The pairing of Triptolemos with Marpessa on a Mannerist amphora in London<sup>80</sup> seems looser, Apollo's interest in Marpessa being of a different kind and, further, rejected. A skyphos in Brussels, attributed to the Painter of the Yale Lekythos,<sup>81</sup> has on one side Triptolemos and on the other the Initiation of Herakles, another god-chosen mortal, but here plainly the common Eleusinian setting is a point of greater importance. The skyphos looks ahead to fourth-century treatments.

Of particular interest are the other figures on the skyphos by Makron, whose Triptolemos picture, as we noticed, stands in a close relation to that on the Pan Painter's Malibu pelike.<sup>82</sup> Under handle A/B, behind Eleusis, sits Eumolpos (*sic*, fig. 2d), an Eleusinian figure of importance, so connected with the main scene. He looks over his shoulder toward it, but his knees turn the other way, linking him to the deities on the back. Under an added-red myrtle wreath his long hair is loose on his shoulders; he wears chiton and himation and holds a scepter. Under the other handle, behind Demeter, sits Poseidon (fig. 2b), whose son Eumolpos is sometimes said to be though this may in origin be a confusion between different characters of the same name.<sup>83</sup> Poseidon, too, wears chiton and himation and has an added-red myrtle wreath, under which his hair is looped with only one lock loose. He too looks over his shoulder at the scene of Triptolemos' departure, but by the direction in which he sits, he belongs with the figures on the back. Next to him his wife Amphitrite stands to left looking back at her husband. Her hair is looped up under a reserved fillet, and with her right hand she lifts her himation, exposing the chiton with deep overfold. Next to Eumolpos (a swan or goose walks between them) stands Zeus to right in chiton and himation, his hair looped up (one lock loose) under a red-figure myrtle wreath (the wreaths of Eumolpos and Poseidon are in added red), scepter in left hand, thunderbolt in right. Between Zeus and Amphitrite, occu-

lekythos (New York 56.11.1; *Para*, 66, below; *AntK* 3 [1960], pl. 7), and the racing cart on the Burgon Panathenaic (London B 130; *ABV*, 89, no. 1; *JHS* 80 [1960], pl. 2). A processional ship cart in which Dionysos rides with satyrs on some late black-figure skyphoi is fitted with wheels of this type: Athens, Akr. 1281; Langlotz, pl. 74; Haspels, *ABL*, 250, no. 29; Bologna 130; *CVA*, pl. 43; Haspels, *ABL*, 25, no. 15.

72. See *supra*, with note 5.

73. Bell-krater, London E 496; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 620, Villa Giulia Painter no. 23; *RömMitt* 27 (1912), Beilage at 286, 2.

74. I. and A. Raubitschek (*supra*, note 69), 116f., pl. 15b.

75. *Supra*, with notes 36, 37. The appeal of Thetis and Eos to Zeus on the back of the Oreithyia Painter's bell-krater with Triptolemos (Palermo V 779; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 496, no. 5; *CVA*, pls. 35–37) relates to the same theme but hardly makes a parallel in the same way.

76. *Supra*, note 28.

77. Louvre G 187; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 361, no. 2; *CVA*, pl. 20, 3 and 6.

78. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1648, addenda to p. 361.

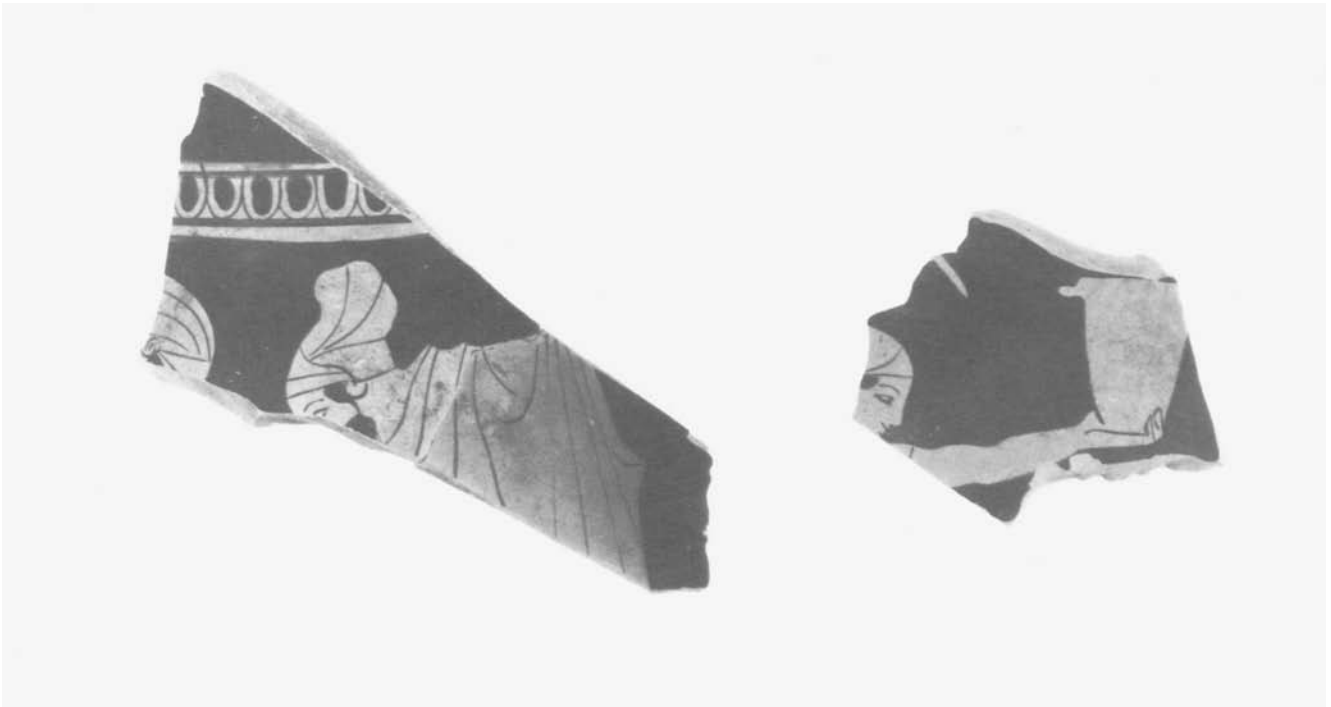
79. Frankfort, Liebieghaus ST V 7; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 386, below; K. Schefold, *Göttersagen* (Munich, 1981), 50, figs. 57–60 (A and B). The tondo shows Poseidon pursuing a woman, and the name of Aithra has been suggested, but it would be stretching the evidence to see here another allusion to Theseus. Another cup with the name of Brygos as potter, lost and known only in a brief description (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 398, no. 10), balanced Triptolemos with Menelaos and Helen. If Aphrodite were shown protecting Helen, it could find a place in this context.

80. London 95.10–31.1; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 583, no. 1; *CVA*, pls. 4, 1 and 12, 4.

81. Brussels A 10; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 661, no. 86; *CVA*, pl. 18, 1.

82. *Supra*, with note 44.

83. See Roscher (*supra*, note 59), s.v. "Eumolpos."



Figures 6a–b. Fragments of a small pelike by the Pan Painter. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.102.29–30.

pying the center of this side (fig. 2c), stands Dionysos to right with long hair loose on his shoulders under a red-figure ivy wreath. His right hand is muffled under his mantle. As staff he has a fennel stalk, but instead of a bunch of ivy leaves tied to the top to make a true thyrsos, he holds two loose ivy sprays there.

The Mission of Triptolemos is certainly the main theme of this vase, but the attitudes of the figures under the handles and the Eleusinian character of Eumolpos show that the whole decoration has a unity. The reasons for the choice of the other deities are not clear, but Dionysos takes pride of place on the reverse, and this is evidently another case of the pairing of the gifts of grain and vine. In the light of the Pan Painter's picture, it is of interest that the wine god is given an unfinished thyrsos.<sup>84</sup>

We may end with another look at the hydria by the

Kleophrades Painter, which was mentioned above for its myrtle-wreathed Dionysos.<sup>85</sup> What the god carries here is neither thyrsos nor fennel stalk but simply a spray of ivy. None of the figures in the picture has a thyrsos, but the satyr who reclines piping at the god's feet and the three maenads who cavort around him wear ivy wreaths in added red.<sup>86</sup> The maenads' blond hair is loose, and they are strikingly like the girl in the Pan Painter's picture. One of them, too, looks full at us like the satyr there. The Kleophrades Painter is of a very different temperament from his considerably younger rival; but these two vases, which must be very close to each other in date, seem to me also unusually alike in feeling—an unexpected and attractive rapprochement.

Two fragments from the two sides of a small pelike in Malibu (fig. 6a–b) were ascribed to the Pan Painter by

84. I am grateful to Lucilla Burn of the British Museum for drawing my attention to the importance of Dionysos on Makron's skyphos.

85. *Supra*, with notes 45 and 51.

86. This corrects a misstatement in my "Corn and Vine on a Vase by the Pan Painter," *supra*, at the beginning of the notes.

87. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.102.29 and 76.AE.102.30. I am most grateful to Dr. von Bothmer for allowing me to publish this vase. Fragment a—Maximum length: 8 cm. Within neck, shiny black; within body, rough black. Fragment b—Maximum length: 5 cm. Within, rough black; relief contour: lower part of left side of skyphos; no dilute black or added color.

88. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 555, nos. 88–92; 1659, nos. 91 bis, 92 bis, and 93 bis.

89. Becker, vol. 1, 54–55, and nos. 190–197.

90. Vienna 3727; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 555, no. 88; *CVA*, pl. 76, 1–3; Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 23, 1–2. Louvre G 547; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 555, no. 89; *CVA* d, pl. 46, 1–3; Beazley, *Panm.*, pl. 23, 3; Follmann, pl. 9, 1.

91. Beazley, *Panm.*, 13; Beazley, *Pan P.*, 4.

92. Follmann, 40, 43. See *supra*, note 33.

93. CB 2, 55–61; list of 28 vases, 58–60. They are further discussed by John Boardman in an article in this volume, p. 35.

94. Alkimachos Painter: list, CB 2, no. 23; Mannerists: *ibid.*, nos. 17–22.

Dietrich von Bothmer, who also identified and presented the right-hand part of fragments a and b.<sup>87</sup>

Fragment a, 76.AE.102.29—Under a band of ovolo, two “Anakreontic” komasts face one another in a dance. Of the one on the left, only the front of the head remains, wearing a sakkos, with the ear and a bit of temple hair in front of it, or rather below it, showing that the head was bent very sharply, looking at the ground. More survives of his partner, whose head was likewise bent forward, though not quite so far. The sakkos on his head swings up with the force of the movement. Ear and temple hair are preserved, with an eyebrow and part of an eye and of the beard, as well as the broad neck and part of the himation which covers an arm flung back and up (the left if the figure is in front view, right if in back).

Fragment b, 76.AE.102.30—The front of a woman’s head is preserved to just below the mouth, and her left arm and hand extended forward with a large skyphos held upright by the foot. The edge of a garment is visible at the shoulder, and she wears a sakkos, the temple hair appearing below it. Profile and interior of the fragments show that the top of the skyphos is about level with the left-hand man’s ear on fragment a. The woman was probably seated, but she could have been crouching or bending forward, possibly in a dance. Above her forehead appears the narrow end of some object, conceivably a drinking horn. There were no doubt two figures on each side of the vase.

The vase must have belonged to the Class of the Pan Painter’s Small Pelikai,<sup>88</sup> which Becker subsumes in her XX, Class of the Small Pelikai by the Geras Painter.<sup>89</sup> The pictures which the Geras Painter puts on his vases of this kind may perhaps be thought of as crude imitations of the Pan Painter’s. The drawing on our fragments is undoubtedly by the Pan Painter, as Bothmer saw. On these little vases he sketches scenes, often odd ones, quickly and freely, sometimes they are careless, but they are almost always fresh and delightful. Our fragments have these qualities to a high degree and seem particularly close to the masterpieces of the Class, the Vienna fisher-pelike and one in the Louvre with a mistress and a slave girl at a big tub, probably washing clothes.<sup>90</sup> Beazley speaks of the Class as belonging to the same period as the Boston Pan-krater itself,<sup>91</sup> and

Follmann, who dates that piece later in the painter’s career than I do, puts some with it, some later still.<sup>92</sup> None surely is early, and I should suppose that there are fifteen or twenty years between the two Getty pelikai.

“Anakreontic” komasts (bearded revelers in drag) were listed and discussed by Beazley.<sup>93</sup> Ours are the first to be recognized in the work of the Pan Painter, though there are examples by artists who stand in some relation to him: one by the Alkimachos Painter and several from the Mannerist workshop.<sup>94</sup> One of these is on the only lekythos attributed to the Mannerist workshop, and it is said to have been found with one by the Pan Painter which it resembles in shape and ornament.<sup>95</sup> The skyphos held by the woman on our second fragment shows that the motif was a drinking scene, but whether she was strictly part of a komos, one cannot be sure. On a hydria fragment by the Berlin Painter, a naked woman in a sakkos, with a cloak loosely slung over her shoulders, holds a big skyphos on her extended left hand but looks the other way.<sup>96</sup> She clearly belongs to a komos, and our woman may have too. That the edge of the woman’s garment on our fragment looks more as though it is part of a dress than of a loose cloak does not rule out this context, but the figure in the Pan Painter’s work whom she most resembles is different. On a slight but charming lekythos in Haverford College,<sup>97</sup> which must belong to much the same time as the little pelikai and is similar in character, a woman wearing sakkos, chiton, and himation sits to left with a cake (perhaps) in her left hand and her right hand held forward with a large skyphos. In front of her stands a slave girl with a ladle in her right hand poised above the skyphos and a phiale in her left hand. A cup hangs on the wall and a lidded psykter stands between them.<sup>98</sup> Bothmer has noted how closely the pair resemble the woman and girl on the Louvre pelike<sup>99</sup> and charmingly suggests that they are the same people, perhaps members of the painter’s household, at work and relaxing. It would be natural to restore our figure on the lines of that one, and that may well be right; but ours seems more *mouvementée* and her active participation in a komos on the lines suggested above cannot be ruled out.

Cambridge

95. Boston 13.199; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 558, no. 73; CB 2, 55–61 n. 93, 55ff., no. 99, pl. 51.3, list no. 17. See Beazley, 55.

96. Athens, Akr. 933; Langlotz, pl. 77; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 210, no. 177; D. C. Kurtz and J. D. Beazley, *The Berlin Painter* (Oxford, 1983), 105, no. 66, pls. 30 and 60a.

97. H. Comfort, *Attic and South Italian Painted Vases at Haverford College* (Haverford, 1956), no. 24; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 557, no. 116; J. V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery* (New York, 1965), fig. 125. See following notes.

98. The action is not perfectly clear. Noble (*supra*, note 97, 19), seems to imply that wine is being ladled from the psykter, but the lid is

on and the position of the ladle fits better with Bothmer’s view (see next note) that it is being ladled from the skyphos into the bowl in the girl’s hand. One would think, however, that the large skyphos cannot have much in it, for unlike those on the Getty fragment and on the fragment by the Berlin Painter (*supra*, with note 96), the skyphos on the Haverford vase is not held underneath, but apparently by one handle (on the far side, though the handle that should correspond to it on the near side is not shown).

99. Bothmer, *AJA* 61 (1957), 310.



POSTSCRIPT

When I wrote this article, I knew the Louvre fragments only in photograph. When I examined the originals, I saw

that wine (in added red) is shown pouring from Kore's jug. Thus the Pan Painter here combines the libation with the moment of handing over the grain-cars.

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀμῖς<sup>1</sup>

## A Chous by the Oionokles Painter

Elfriede R. Knauer

The J. Paul Getty Museum has a red-figure chous, a wine jug of a type well documented in classical art and literature (figs. 1a–c, g).<sup>2</sup> Undecorated for normal everyday use but adorned with figure-work for special purposes, the chous stands out among the ten known types of oinochoai for its size and sturdiness.<sup>3</sup> These pottery pitchers were designed for ladling and pouring wine. First conceived in Attica about the middle of the sixth century B.C., the shape was well established by the early fifth century

and continued deep into the fourth. Among the preserved choes, smaller or miniature examples prevail.<sup>4</sup>

The vase in the Getty Museum is one of the few full-size, red-figure shape-3 vessels to have survived from the first decades of the fifth century B.C.<sup>5</sup> Typically it has a bulbous body which rises in a continuous curve from a low spreading foot into a steep neck. Its trefoil mouth is only moderately pulled in and is flat on top. The slightly sloping spout facilitates pouring. The handle, triangular in section,

### Abbreviations:

Add: L. Burn and R. Glynn, comps., *Beazley Addenda*, Additional References to ABV, ARV<sup>2</sup> and Paralipomena (Oxford, 1982).

BPP: B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries*. The Athenian Agora, vol. 12 (Princeton, 1970).

1. Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 633: σκάφιον Ξένυλλ' ἤτησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀμῖς (Xenylla requested a basin, for there was no chamber pot). The Loeb translation (B. Bickley Rogers [1924, reprint 1972] reads: *Scaphium petiit Xenylla, matula enim non aderat*. I would like to thank Rudolf Kassel who before its publication has generously opened to me the pages of *Poetae Comici Graeci*, vol. 3, 2, *Aristophanes*. Testimonia et Fragmenta, R. Kassel and C. Austin, eds. (Berlin and New York, 1984). See also note 11.

I am much indebted to Dietrich von Bothmer for his comments and criticism of the manuscript and for liberal access to his photo collection and notes. He does not, however, share my conviction as to the ascription of the vase.

2. Malibu 86.AE.237. Height: 23 cm; diameter (belly): 18.6 cm; diameter (foot): 12.3 cm. Portions are broken and repaired, with several small parts missing and restored in plaster, including the lower back of the left leg and the front of the left foot of the youth; part of the bottom and spout of the jar he holds; part of the left thigh of the man. The chous is glazed inside (poorly) and out; the glaze has misfired on a large part of the surface, and the chous is unglazed beneath and at the lower edge of the foot. Relief lines of the ornament include two lines each framing the upper border; the undulating line of the border-pattern; and the handle-palmette throughout, except within the tendril coils and the reserved shield above. Relief contours are found on all of the man's body except his right hand, chin (beard), hair, and the sole of his right foot; throughout the boy's body and all objects held by him, except in the outline of the head and both soles; (the damaged contour of the man's right forearm was retouched by a restorer, as were the glaze between the fingers of his right hand and the boy's nose and eye). Relief lines are found on the ear, brow, moustache, upper edge of beard, fillet, penis, and mantle folds of the man, on the fringes of the boy's hair, and on the pattern and strings of the basket. Relief lines affected by damage to surface include the boy's eye and brow, the basket, and probably the contour of the ivy-decked chous; also damaged are most of the interior

body markings in dilute glaze. They are preserved on the man's right shoulder and (partly) on his legs, on the fillet, cloth-pattern and cloth fringes, and on the ivy wreath of the chous. Added red is found on leaves of the wreath of the man (much worn) and on straps of the basket. Remains of a preliminary sketch can be seen on the left thigh of the youth, on the left heel of the reveler, and on the basket. Circa 470 B.C.

References: H. Cahn and A. Emmerich, *Masterpieces of Greek Vase Painting, 7th to 5th century B.C.*, ex. cat. (New York, 1964), no. 30; *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, ex. cat. (Cologne, 1968), no. A 35 (K. Schauenburg); D. von Bothmer and J. Bean, *Greek Vases and Modern Drawings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss*, ex. cat. (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1969), 5, no. 59; *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection*, ex. cat. (Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1983), no. 38, pp. 54 and 77. (The first three references are owed to D. von Bothmer).

I thank Jiří Frel for permission to publish the chous and Marion True for providing both a careful description of the vase's condition and much aid from afar.

3. For the classification of shapes, see ARV<sup>2</sup>, XLIX–L, chous: oinochoe, shape 3. G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935), 18–20.

4. G. Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leiden, 1951); A. Rumpf, "Attische Feste—Attische Vasen," *BonnJbb* 161 (1961), 208–214; A. Greifenhagen, "Ein Satyrspiel des Aischylos?" 118. *Winckelmannsprogramm* (Berlin, 1963); BPP, 14ff., 60–62. J. R. Green, "A Series of Added-Red-Figure Choes," *AA* 4 (1970), 475–487; idem, "Choes of the Later Fifth Century," *BSA* 66 (1971), 189–228. See also idem, *BICS* no. 19 (1972); E. M. Stern, "Kinderkännchen zum Choenfest," *Thiasos* (Amsterdam, 1978), 27–37; A. J. Clark, "The Earliest Known Chous by the Amasis Painter," *MMAJ* 15 (1981), 35–49 (reference owed to D. von Bothmer); see also text to the two choes in Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H5387 and H4937, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 871,95, CV4 2, 24–28, pls. 16, 17, 1–2, 18, 19, 1–4. For oinochoai pictured on vases see: H. Gericke, *Gefäßdarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen* (Berlin, 1970), 147–160. I am much obliged to J. R. Green who enlightened me on the development of the shape by generously providing a sequence of his profile drawings of choes from the first half of the fifth century.

5. Other examples, with references in Add: ARV<sup>2</sup>, 118,2 (*Para*, 332); 210,186 (1634; *Para*, 343; *Add*, 97); 210,187; 229,46; 242,78 (*Add*, 100);

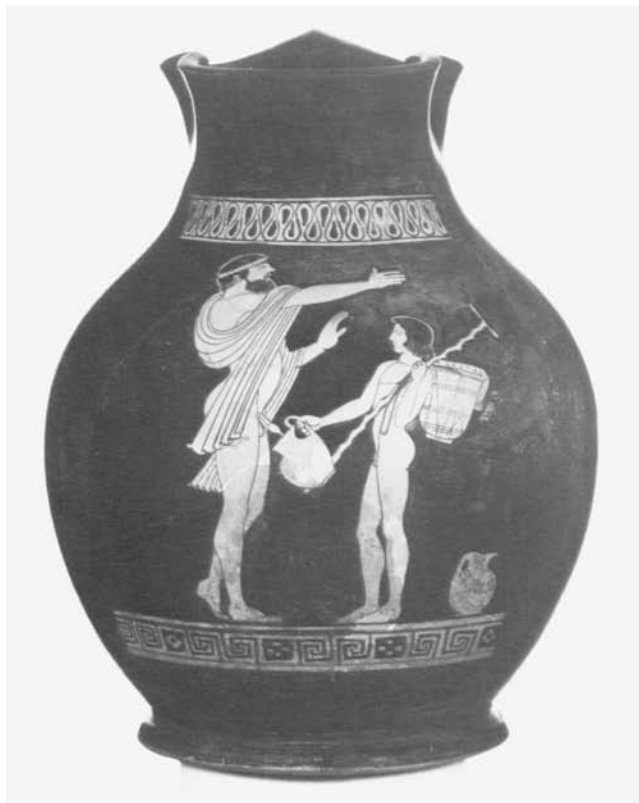


Figure 1a. Chous, front. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.237.

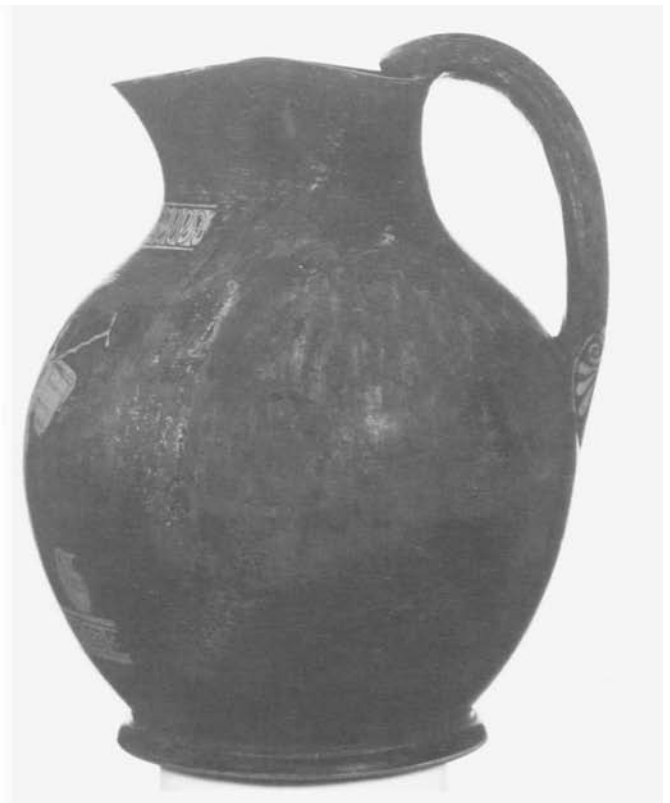


Figure 1b. Side of chous, figure 1a.

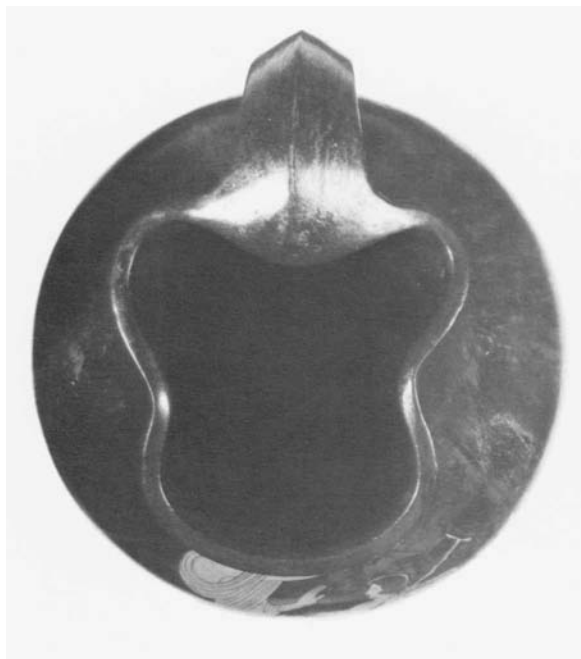
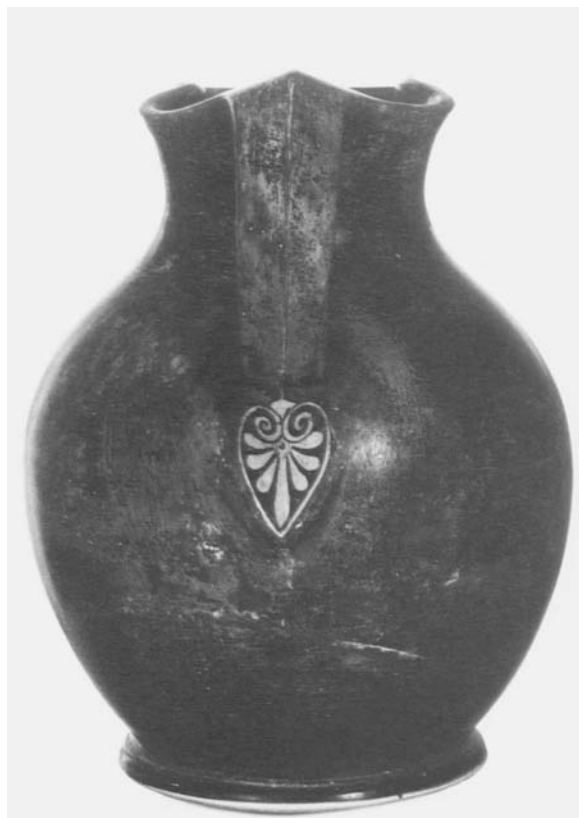


Figure 1c. Top view of chous, figure 1a.



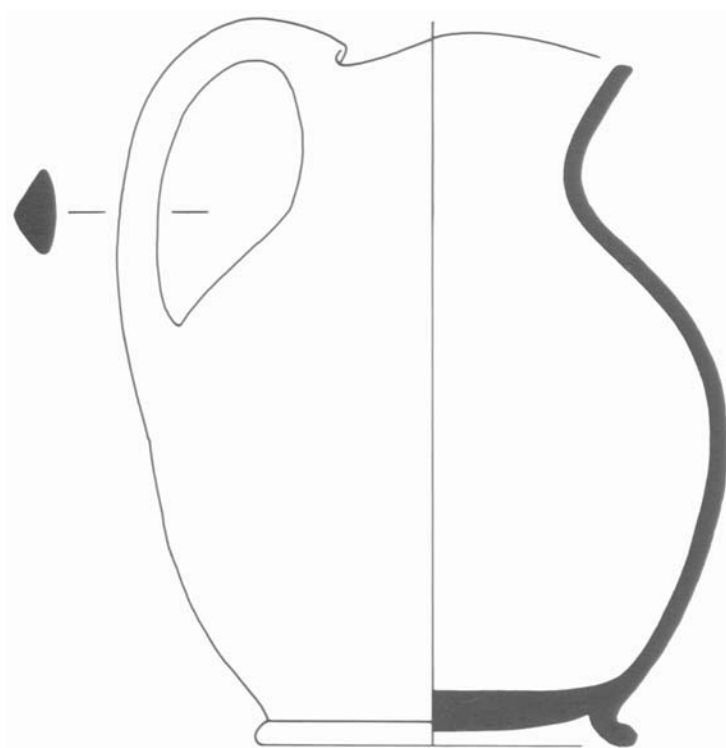
Figure 1d. Detail of chous, figure 1a.



*Figure 1e.* Reverse of chous, figure 1a.



*Figure 1f.* Handle-palmette of chous, figure 1a.



*Figure 1g.* Profile of chous, figure 1a. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

has its root halfway up, at the greatest width of the body. Taut in outline, the handle juts out above into the orifice.<sup>6</sup>

Less typical than its form, however, is the decoration of the Getty chous (fig. 1d). The picture, unframed, is defined by an upper and lower border. The meander base differs from ordinary one-directional bands by its alternately volte-facing units: a pair of meanders to right, a cross-square, a pair of meanders to left, a checkerboard, a pair of meanders to right, a checkerboard, a pair of meanders to left, and a final cross-square.<sup>7</sup> The pronounced upper border, as wide as the center foil of the mouth and thus enhancing the steep neck, displays an unusual pattern of alternating tear-shaped drops, framed by the dense, snaky curves of a relief line. Although this pattern occurs only rarely on ceramic shapes,<sup>8</sup> it is not unusual for border dec-

orations of red-figure choes to display rather uncommon patterns.<sup>9</sup> A heart-shaped circumscribed palmette with seven hanging petals and a black dot in the center shield rivets the handle-root to the body of the vase (figs. 1e-f).<sup>10</sup>

### THE PICTURE

A bearded reveler with broad dotted fillet and wreath, naked but for a mantle slung over his left shoulder and his left and upper right arms, appears in his great excitement almost unaware of his boy-servant's rescue operation. The small procession, on its way to the right, has come to a stop, and the boy must have turned around to answer his master's call for the substitute receptacle: "ἀμίδα παῖ."<sup>11</sup> The reveler's grand gesture, half-open mouth, and inspired upward gaze seem to reflect his devotion to the god whose

242,79 (1638); 544,66-67; 595,71 bis (1660; *Para*, 394); 595,72 (*Para*, 513; *Add*, 129); 606,83 (*Add*, 130); 607,84 (*Add*, 130); 607,85-86; 607,87 (1661); 611,40 (1661; *Para*, 396; *Add*, 131); 658,22; 688f,255-257; 776,1 (1669; *Para*, 416; *Add*, 141); 776,2 (1669); 871,91-95 (*Para*, 426; *Add*, 147).

Chous is a measure of capacity. For the latest discussion of the liquid contents of such jugs, see Clark (*supra*, note 4), 47-49, and H. Büsing, "Metrologische Beiträge," *JdI* 97 (1982), 1-45, esp. 28f.: one chous = 3.2825 liters. The chous in the Getty Museum holds 3.05 liters when filled with rice to the bottom of the neck and 3.55 liters when filled to the brim (measured by Marion True).

6. For the changing characteristics in the course of the first half of the fifth century, see BPP, pl. 6 and 60-63; J. R. Green (*supra*, note 4), (1970), 484f.; (1971), 189-191; and (1972), 6f. In a letter of November 11, 1983, J. R. Green writes:

"...earlier is taller-looking with the greatest diameter relatively high. In earlier versions the formation of the mouth is relatively simple: more upright, less fully modelled, the clay at the lip squared off more than thinned. In the view from above, the front and back halves of the mouth tend to be more equal in size, with the sides pulled in only slightly. The overall tendency is for the back half to widen, almost at the expense of the front, so that ultimately, in the third quarter of the century, one has something much more like a true trefoil. Similarly, when seen from the front, the mouth begins to spread out more and the clay is made thinner at the lip. While this happens, the body becomes plumper and the centre of gravity drops."

He suggests that the shape of the Getty Museum chous be compared with the Tarquinia Painter's choes (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 871,91-95) and leans toward a date of circa 470 B.C. A useful comparison is provided on plate 87 of *CVA* Munich 2: The mouth of the Berlin Painter's chous (2453, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 210,187) has a flat top and the greatest diameter is found high on the jug, much like the Getty chous, while the mouth of the later chous by the Niobid Painter (2454, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 607,84) is sharpened and thinner and has the widest diameter lower down.

7. For a meander that similarly changes direction, see the chous by the Berlin Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 210,187. More important for the Getty chous seem the parallels for the checkerboards on Nolsans by the Providence Painter; cf., e.g., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 636,4 and 637,34. For a schematized table of the meanders of the Providence Painter, see E. Papoutsaki-Serveti, *O zographos tes Providence* (Athens, 1983), pls. 2-5. For the development of the meander on Nolsans of pupils of the Berlin Painter see: C. Isler-Kerényi, "Hermonax in Zürich, II: Die Halsamphora Haniel," *AntK* 27 (1984), 54-57, esp. 55f. Cf. note 23. See also the observations on the direction and symmetry of meander borders by B. Otto, "Dekorative Elemente in den Bildschöpfungen des Kleophrades- und Berliner-Malers," in

H. A. G. Brijder, ed., *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*. Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium, Amsterdam 1984. Allard Pierson Series, vol. 5 (Amsterdam, 1985), 198-201.

8. Dietrich von Bothmer adduces the kalpis, Palermo 766, and the pelike, Boston 1971.343 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 254,5 "Recalls the Syleus Painter"); see *The Museum Year 1971-72*, The 96th Annual Report of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 43ff. For side B, which displays that pattern at the bottom of the frame, see *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 78 (1980), 32, no. 12. The pattern recurs on the abacus of the sphinx's column on side A. It is met with already on the late Corinthian oinochoe 2610; see T. J. Dunbabin, ed., *Perachora: The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1962), pl. 112 and p. 273, with further references (kotyle, kothones; a similarly decorated kothon from a mid-sixth-century tomb in Sindos was shown by M. Tiverios at the Colloquium on Greek Vases, Beazley Centenary, London, June 25-26, 1985). There can hardly be a direct connection. The pattern is also met with as a decorative device on a carved piece of furniture on a Locrian relief (circa 455 B.C.) in Reggio, Calabria. See K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich, 1981), fig. 30. It also occurs in vase-painting as a molding pattern below the volutes of altars, e.g.: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 203,101; 319,6; 554,82; 574,9; and when depicting chased metal vases, see e.g. the omphalos cup held by Phoinix, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 369,4, or the oinochoe of Persephone, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 496,5. The pattern also occurs as the neck decoration of an Etruscan amphora in Göttingen, see P. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen* (Berlin, 1912), pl. III.8. A stylized kyma seems to be intended throughout.

9. See, e.g., Van Hoorn (*supra*, note 4) figs. 6, 12, 23, 29, 38, 74, 82, 88, 118, 128a, 141, 183, 184, 198, 397, 407a, 498, 510; *JdI* 86 (1971), 110, 112, 115 (reference from D. von Bothmer).

10. Cf., e.g., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 210,186 (*Add*, 97); 210, 187; Würzburg H5387, *CVA* 2, pl. 17,1-2, and *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 595,71 bis. The palmette of the Getty chous should go between the Berlin Painter's and that of the Würzburg chous. Unfortunately, the handle-palmettes of choes are rarely pictured.

11. Eupolis, frag. 351,5K. (A) ... τίς εἶπεν "ἀμίδα παῖ" πρῶτος μεταξύ πίνων; (B) Παλαμῆδικόν γε τὸντο τοῦδε ῥήμα καὶ σοφὸν σου (A. "...Who first said 'slave, a chamber pot' in the midst of his drinking? B. Yes, that is a wise and Palamedic conceit of yours"). (Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, vol. 1, trans. G. B. Gulick [Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1927].) The fragment comes from Athenaeus (I 17d) who credits Eupolis with first using the term ἀμύς. Meineke identified the gadget's advertiser, (A), whose achievement is likened by his interlocutor, (B), to those of the archinventor Palamedes, as Alkibiades.

Moments of crisis must have occurred frequently during symposia and komoi. Vase-painters took the subject up as eagerly as did writers of comedy. Kassel and Austin (*supra*, note 1), 160, frag. 280 (who already

gift he must have sampled to a great extent, as well as to express his pathetic urgency. Yet, because of his aroused state, nature's call is forced to wait. The boy's attitude, however, is calm and matter of fact. While shouldering his master's knotty stick, together with the strings of a picnic basket, neatly covered by a fringed embroidered napkin, he proffers the large jug and steadies it to wait things out.<sup>12</sup>

High-handled round-mouthed jugs, banded and occasionally with a flat bottom, much like the plain one held out by the boy, have been found in the lowest levels of well deposits in the Athenian Agora (shape 9). This attests to their use as water jars. There is, however, inscriptional evidence and indications from red-figure vase-paintings that they were also used as urinals (*ἀμίδες*) (fig. 2).<sup>13</sup> A cup by the Dokimasia Painter in the Getty Museum bears this out

(fig. 3). Not only does it show one of the young revelers profaning a banded water jar, but it also shows a waste basin (*σκάφιον*), which was occasionally used as a urinal.<sup>14</sup>

The Getty chous may well have served as one of the officially gauged wine vessels required at the Choes, the second and main day of the Athenian spring festival of the Anthesteria, sacred to Dionysos, when the new wine was first sampled.<sup>15</sup> For that day's drinking contest, participants brought their own jugs, the choes, from which to fill their cups. A special market day was held before the festival to provide the contestants with the necessary pitchers. The victor was regaled with a skin full of wine by the Archon Basileus, Athens' highest magistrate. On the same day of the Choes, Athenian children three years of age were festively admitted to the religious community and presented

take note of the present article as forthcoming) assemble the pertinent parallels to throw light on a fragment from Aristophanes' comedy *Δραματὰ ἡ Κενταυρος*, preserved by Pollux (X 185): *ἀλλ' εἰς καθὼν λαβὼν τιν' οὐρεῖ πιττινόν* (take the pitched vessel and make water into it!). The centaur Pholos seems to encourage Herakles to have recourse to a water-proof substitute receptacle during their drinking bout. We see the same measures being adopted in a mythical scenario as in daily life. Women, though less conspicuous at Athenian social events and therefore less pictured, reverted to identical measures; cf. the passage from Aristophanes' *Thesm.* (see title of this article) and the tondo picture of a kylix in Berlin in the manner of the Foundry Painter (ARV<sup>2</sup>, 401,11): a naked woman using a clay basin (*σκάφιον*). For the basin's shape and decoration, compare our figure 3. The woman may be a hetaera, though she is pictured unaccompanied. One should compare the desperate attempts to retain some privacy of such a girl relieving herself while an aulete tries to infringe on it; see the hydria, Louvre G 51, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 32,1, near the Dikaios Painter. The domestic dunghill seems to have been the normal answer for the housewife (*Thesm.* 485): *εἰς τὸν κοπρῶν οὖν ἐρχομαι* (I go to the dunghill now). Children's needs were catered to with practical stools (*lasana*) known from both vase-paintings and an actual find. See the miniature chous of about 440/430 in the British Museum, GR 1910.6–15.4, depicting an "enthroned" toddler, with a toy and a minute chous next to it on the floor. The vase is reproduced in: D. Burr Thompson, *An Ancient Shopping Center. Excavations of the Athenian Agora*, picture book no. 12 (Princeton, 1971), fig. 40, together with the carefully decorated object found in the Agora excavations. See also the stemless cup, Brussels A 890, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 771,1, akin to the Sotades Painter; and the lekythos, Berlin F2209, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1587,2 (top of page). For more classical references to the chamber pot, see RE I, 1 s.v. *Amus*, 1837f. (Mau). Athenaeus (XI 519e) makes the Sybarites the first to invent chamber pots and carry them to their drinking parties. For vase-paintings of mortals or immortals relieving themselves, see K. Schauenburg, ΣΕΙΑΗΝΟΣ ΟΥΡΩΝ, *RömMitt* 81 (1974), 313–316 (reference from D. von Bothmer). One of the vases listed by Schauenburg is the Getty chous, two others had already appeared in BPP, 65 n. 41.

12. Dietrich von Bothmer notes that the basket, unusually, has a foot. However, footed baskets occur not infrequently with the Brygos Painter, cf. ARV<sup>2</sup>, 371,24 (twice); 372,33; 377,106; 379,150. I found one instance with Onesimos, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 318,2. Von Bothmer also observes that the stick helps to steady the vessel, since time is involved.

13. For such jugs see BPP, 63–65, for a list of red-figure cups showing the jugs about to be and being used as *ἀμίδες*: 65 n. 41. Number 2 of that list, a cup by the Foundry Painter, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 402,13 in East Berlin, was lost in World War II. Add the calyx-krater by Epiktetos in the Villa Giulia, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 77,90, and the early komos cup by the Triptolemos Painter,

Louvre G 311, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 365,54. This is the only other parallel to the Getty reveler's special physical state known to me. Arrested in his unsteady dancing step, a youth is offered a jug by an understanding companion who, however, shields his eyes at the sight. There were, in addition, special portable containers available to the Athenian partygoer of the mid-fifth century B.C. The classical urinal is beehive-shaped, decorated with glazed bands; it has a horizontal strap-handle on top and a hooded opening high up on the shoulder. For examples see BPP, pl. 96, nos. 2012 and 2013, and p. 231, and, by the same authors, *Pots and Pans of Classical Athens* (Princeton, 1958), fig. 22. Eupolis (see supra, note 11) may have thought of similar models when he has the *ἀμὶς* discussed by Alkibiades and his partner. It has been argued by B. A. Sparkes (*JHS* 95 [1975], 128) that the small number of such vessels found (only half a dozen in the Agora excavations) as well as the fact that they are never represented on vase-paintings may speak against the identification, though he admits that such a sophisticated shape is wholly in line with late fifth-century developments. It should be said that their absence on vases is but natural since scenes of symposia peter out already about the middle of the fifth century. If we get a glimpse of komoi, it is in mythical disguise, and here the receptacles used are naturally traditional. (Cf. the chous mentioned in *JdI* 86 [1971], 112 n. 9 and the chous Athens 1218, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1212,2, color photo in B. Philippaki, *Vases of the National Museum of Athens* [Athens, n. d.], fig. 50, our figure 2). That only a few of the beehive urinals were found in the Agora may have its reason in their not being particularly suitable for being dumped in wells, in spite of that age's surely rather limited concept of hygiene. As we saw, fifth-century symposiasts did use oinochoai of the same shape as the many water jars found in the wells. Only a single one (Agora P 28053), however, was found bearing the inscription *ἀμὶς* scratched on the shoulder after firing (BPP, 8, 65, and 231 and Sparkes [1975], 128 n. 34, pl. XIIIf). This plainly shows the felt need for keeping them apart from the ordinary water jugs. The rare occurrence of a clearly designated *ἀμὶς* at the Agora possibly hints at a different final resting place for discarded specimens—perhaps the dunghill.

14. It was seen by D. Williams to be identical with ARV<sup>2</sup>, 413,12. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.121. The shallow metal basin (*ποδανιπτήρη*) used by symposiasts for washing their feet served at times also as a urinal. Herodotus makes this evident in his amusing report about how the commoner Amasis makes himself respected as king by the Egyptians by having a golden "washpot" turned into the much revered image of a native deity (II,172).

15. For the Anthesteria, see L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932; reprint Berlin, 1956), 93–123; A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford, 1927, 1968<sup>2</sup>; revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis), 1–25; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977),

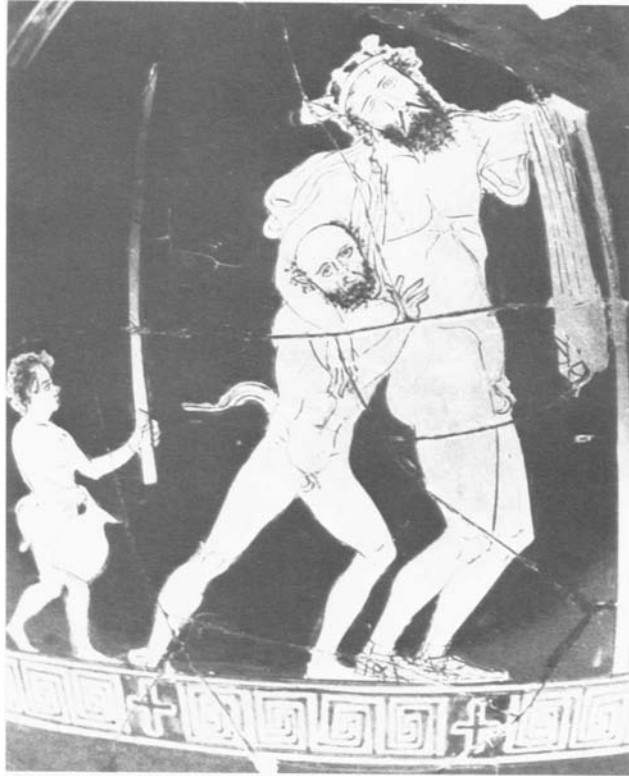
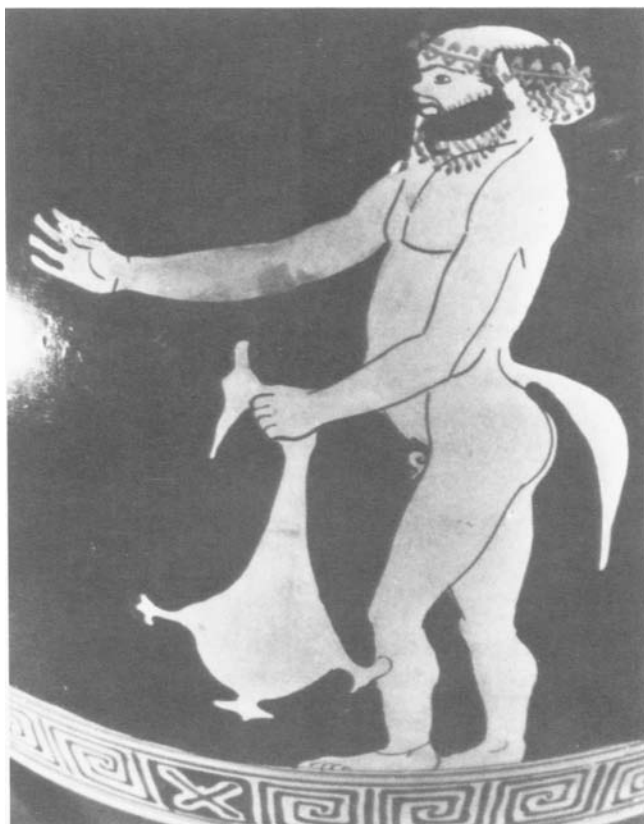


Figure 2. Attic red-figure oinochoe, about 430 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1218.



Figure 3. Cup by the Dokimasia Painter. Diam.: 22.4 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.121.



*Figure 4.* Side B of Nolan amphora by the Oionokles Painter. Bernisches Historisches Museum 12215. Photo: Courtesy Bernisches Historisches Museum.



*Figure 5.* Side A of Nolan amphora by the Oionokles Painter. Paris, Louvre G 210. Photo: M. Chuzeville; courtesy Musée du Louvre.



with miniature choes, among other gifts. Numerous examples have been found in children's tombs; hence the large number of such vessels in existence. Most of them bear pictures of the manifold joyous activities of that initiation day.

Since a large ivy-decked chous stands on the ground in our picture, it would be tempting to imagine the reveler and his *pais* on their way to the sanctuary of Dionysos' *ἐν Δίμναις* on the evening of the day of the Choes. According to an old ritual, however, the participants were required "not to deposit in the temples the wreaths which they had worn.... Rather each should lay his wreath around his choes pitcher and take it to the priestess in the temple 'in the marshes' and then perform the further sacrifices in the sanctuary."<sup>16</sup> But not only is our reveler still wearing his own wreath, besides a fillet, there are also too many pictures known that show wreathed vessels in the context of ordinary symposia.<sup>17</sup> Thus, it seems safer to look at our tippler as an ordinary partygoer.

#### THE PAINTER

The chous in the Getty Museum has never been ascribed.<sup>18</sup> One would like to assign it to the Oionokles Painter. Beazley lists him among the early classic painters of smaller pots, especially of Nolans and lekythoi, and calls him a follower of The Providence Painter. The Oionokles Painter was given his name for the kalos inscriptions on four of his Nolans.<sup>19</sup> His main work consists of neck-amphorae and lekythoi. One column-krater and the fragment of a loutrophoros are known in addition to one oinochoe of shape 1. The Getty vase would be his only chous, thus far.

107–120 and E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica, An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison, 1983), 92–99. See also the literature *supra*, note 4 and the important chapter "Anthesteria" in W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, trans. P. Bing (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1983), 213–247, esp. 216–226, which elucidates the somber background of the festival.

16. Phanodemos, F. Jacoby, ed., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–1958), 325 F 11; Burkert (*supra*, note 15), 321f.

17. While decked out storage and mixing vessels occur frequently (see the cup by the Dokimasia Painter, Berlin 2309, *Para*, 372,11 bis), decked out choes on vase-paintings are rare. See, for example, a cup by the Foundry Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 403,34 (1706); A. D. Trendall, *Greek Vases in the Logie Collection* (Christ Church, New Zealand, 1971), no. 30, already adduced by Sparkes and Talcott, *BPP*, 62 n. 27, and the choes in Würzburg, H5387 and H4937, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 871,95 (see *supra*, note 4). They have no obvious connection with the Anthesteria. The majority of wreathed choes are to be found on miniature choes clearly intended for the festival (e.g., van Hoorn [*supra*, note 4], figs. 300a, 307, 360, 367, and 469, to note only those where the wreaths are less casually depicted than on countless others).

18. Herbert Cahn kindly informs me that in July 1963 a photo was sent to Beazley, who was ill at the time and did not pronounce on the piece. I am much obliged to Donna Kurtz, who confirmed this after checking the vase's records in the Beazley Archive.

Breathless pursuit is the main subject of his scenes on Nolans, be this pursuit amorous or bellicose, male after male, male after female, or vice versa. On the narrower field of his tall lekythoi there is room for just one figure, striding or running, and one wonders whether the pertaining partners may have been pictured on companion pieces lost to us.

One of the painter's favorite themes is Dionysos with his followers. Once Dionysos is shown rushing along as a participant in a wild chase of satyrs and maenads. He appropriately wears a chitoniskos and high embades and manipulates a huge snake with the help of his thyrsos.<sup>20</sup> In the engaging scene on a Nolan in Bern, the god seems more himself, gazing in rapt attention at a bald-pated silen who is nimbly dancing and beating time for himself with castanets. Wine flows from Dionysos' tilted kantharos. On the back of this vase, a satyr luckily has paid attention to the scene (fig. 4). The expressive gesture of his right arm indicates concern about the precious liquid being lost and respectfully signals that he is on his way to replenish the god's kantharos from his wine skin.<sup>21</sup>

This satyr lends himself well to comparison with the Getty reveler. The expansive gesture of the arm, the concave small of the back, the protruding buttocks, which correspond to the bulging belly, as well as the rigidness of the erect body are very similar, though differently motivated. The features and physical type of the Getty symposiast are also much like those of Herakles on the Nolan in the Louvre (fig. 5), who is wrecking the house of his cruel employer, Syleus.<sup>22</sup>

The protagonists on vases by some of the Oionokles Painter's contemporaries tend to portray rather vapid ges-

19. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 646–649 (1603; *Para*, 402). In *Add* (134) the Oionokles Painter appears in the actual entry as well as in the index as Oionokles Painter. Add now as a fifth mention of the kalos-name (ΕΟΝΟΚΛΕΥΣ) the Nolan by the Painter of the Paris gigantomachy: *MuM Auktion* 63, *Kunstwerke der Antike* (Basel, 1983), lot. 42.

20. New York 41.162.21, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 646,1. The Nolan by the Providence Painter, London E 303, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 636,4 should be compared: a similarly attired Dionysos with a snake fights a giant. When not a spectator but engaged in battle or partaking in the thiasos, Dionysos often wears a short or tucked-up chiton and "Thracian" boots. Cf. e.g. the stamnos, London E 439, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 298, in style not unlike the Hephaisteion Painter; the oinochoai by the Blenheim Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 598,2 and by the Nikon Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 651,19; also the bell-krater near the Peleus Painter as well as the Hektor, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1037,1 and the calyx-krater, Group of Vienna 1104, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1078,2.

21. Inv. 12215, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 646,3. I. Jucker, *Aus der Antikensammlung des Bernischen Historischen Museums* (Bern, 1970), no. 55, pls. 20–21. I owe a copy of the catalogue to the kindness of its author. The photo is courtesy of the museum. For similar scenes of Dionysos with tilted kantharos in need of a refill on one side of the pot and a satyr on the other eager to serve his master, see the pelike by the Argos Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 289,13 and the Nolan by the Brygos Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 383,198. For a kantharos being actually filled from a skin, see the cup by the Kodros Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1270,17.

22. Paris, Louvre G 210, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 647,18, *Add*, 134. The photo is by M.

tulations, a flaw partly caused by the shape of the surface to be filled. In contrast, the actors of the Oionokles Painter are often redeemed by the consonance of a speaking look and meaningful gestures. One feels that Beazley must have listed our painter as a follower of the Providence Painter for the attention both pay to the language of the eyes. While it is primarily the radiant orbs of the immortals that the Providence Painter emphasizes,<sup>23</sup> the eyes of most of the Oionokles Painter's creatures, though goggle-like at times, become instruments of intense communication.<sup>24</sup> His more static figures often engage in ritual or official functions.<sup>25</sup> They are already imbued with the purposeful tranquillity that was to become the hallmark of the Classical period.

There are many telling traits in the picture on the Getty chous which can be paralleled in the oeuvre of the Oionokles Painter. Compare, for example, the sharply bent, yet slightly rubbery left arm of the attentive *pais*, his hand seizing two things at once, with that of the satyr on B of the Nolan in New York (fig. 6).<sup>26</sup> Here the satyr manages single-handedly a full wine skin and a kantharos. A close parallel to the Getty *pais* is found on the Nolan in Oxford where a satyr shoulders a wineskin with his left arm and holds a barbiton with his outstretched right arm. On these two vases articulation of the upper limbs and fingers is virtually identical.<sup>27</sup>

Particular to the Oionokles Painter is a narrow, shawl-like mantle slung over the neck and arms. It is frequently densely pleated, occasionally caught under a belt, and worn by both sexes.<sup>28</sup> With great consistency, the little droplike weights sewn into the mantle's selva-ends jut out almost



Figure 6. Side B of Nolan amphora by the Oionokles Painter. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.221.41. Photo: Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Chuzeville, courtesy Musée du Louvre, Antiquités Grecques et Romaines (the photo is owed to the kindness of Alain Pasquier). Typical, too, is the slightly tiptilt nose, especially noticeable on a three-quarter face; cf. *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 647,19, (*Add*, 134). Herakles wears a wide fillet, like the Mykonos symposiast, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 648,29, which is close in shape to the Getty reveler's, although being in added red, it lacks dots. These are found, however, on that of the New York satyr (see *infra*, fig. 6). Such voluminous headbands as these, decorated with rows or groups of dots—which can be either interspersed with vertical zigzags or arranged in a stepped pattern (produced by twisting the material?)—are much favored by symposiasts in the second quarter of the fifth century and are often worn combined with leafy wreaths, as can be observed on the Getty chous. They are frequently met with, for example, in the work of the following painters (for the sake of brevity, only one example is listed for each): the Triptolemos Painter (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 365,61); the Brygos Painter (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 380,172); the later Douris (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 437,128); Makron (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 466,106); the Pan Painter (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 551,15); the cup assigned to the Tarquinia Painter (K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* [Basel, 1960], no. 220); the Painter of the Brussels Oinochoe (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 775,2 and 3); and the Euaion Painter (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 792,51). Such fillets may have been fashioned from woollen cloth.

23. See, for example, the name piece *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 635,1 (*Add*, 133); 641.80. For mortals see e.g. *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 640,67; 641,83 (*Add*, 133); 642,101. The Oionokles Painter shares with the Providence Painter certain checkerboard maecander borders; cf. *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 636,4 and 647,14 (dots in the white

fields!); for the Getty chous checkerboards, cf. *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 637,34. For the Providence Painter's maecanders, see the reference in note 7.

24. See Pluton and Persephone on the Nolan in the Louvre, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 648,25.

25. See Athena pausing in the act of writing on a tablet on a Nolan in the Cabinet des Médailles 369, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 348,31 (*Add*, 134), or the hoplite cutting off a lock from his forehead on the lekythos in Cleveland 28.660, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 648,37 (*Add*, 134).

26. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.221.41 (Rogers Fund), *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 646,6. I am grateful to Dietrich von Bothmer and Joan Mertens for letting me study the pieces in the Metropolitan Museum and to the trustees for their permission to publish the photograph.

27. Oxford 1965.106, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 646,4 (*Para*, 402). For a similarly outstretched hand holding the handle of a jug, like the Getty boy, see *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 648,29.

28. With males: *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 647,13; 647,22; 648,24; 648,30; 648,35 (belted); 649,43; 649,45 (*Add*, 134); 649,47. With females: *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 646,1 (belted); 646,4 (*Para*, 402); 647,11; 647,16 (*Add*, 134); 647,17 (*Para*, 402). The plain cloak—short and usually without a border—is, of course, often worn by komasts (more rarely by warriors) already in early red-figure; see, for example, the kylix attributed to the Epidromos Painter by von Bothmer (*Wealth of the Ancient World* [Beverly Hills, 1983], no. 7) or with painters of the Coarser Wing (e.g., the cup by the Nikosthenes Painter, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, 125,13). It becomes more frequent, however, in the 470's and 460's, often worn in combination with the wide, dotted

horizontally, defying the laws of gravity.<sup>29</sup> Additional features that can be matched in other pieces by the painter are: hands articulated by relief lines which carry the contour into the wrist when seen from outside and often almost across it when seen from inside<sup>30</sup>; pronounced square heels and high insteps; rounded anklebones; taut sinoidal eyebrows touching the root of the frequently pointed nose; small, round ears with only a modicum of interior articulation; and short dense beards for mature men, apparently the post-Persian vogue.<sup>31</sup> There is a noticeable predilection for generous patterning—folds, cuirasses, decorated materials, lavish curls—in spite of a general tendency toward a

summary execution of the design.<sup>32</sup> Where preserved, the dilute-glaze markings of the muscles are careful and profuse. When discernible, the preliminary design is equally meticulous, tracing the bodies' outlines with few pentimenti.

Except for a number of warriors, perhaps occasioned by the still fresh memories of the Persian wars,<sup>33</sup> the Oionokles Painter gives us few mortals. Thus, the chous in the Getty Museum is a welcome addition to our knowledge of Athenian life settling down to a more relaxed pace in the decade after the great confrontation.

Philadelphia

fillet discussed supra, for example with the late Douris (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 445,257) and especially his followers. The cloaks' edges are consistently squared off instead of showing undulating ends. My survey was facilitated by Robert Guy's generously letting me see a xerox of his unpublished Oxford Ph.D. dissertation "The Late Manner and Early Classical Followers of Douris" (1982). To my knowledge, none of the above painters uses the short mantle so consistently—or for that matter for both sexes—as does the Oionokles Painter, whose rendering of the dense folds is unmistakable. Only occasionally do squared-off edges occur (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 647,11; 648,24; 648,29; 648,37), yet the pleating remains dense.

29. E.g., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 646,1; 646,8; 646,10; 647,11; 647,12 (*Add*, 134); 647,13; 647,14; 647,16 (*Add*, 134); 647,17 (*Para*, 402); 647,21 (*Add*, 134); 647,22; 648,25; 648,27; 648,30; 648,34; 648,39; 649,44 (*Add*, 134); 649,45 (*Add*, 134).

30. E.g., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 646,3 (*Add*, 134); 646,4 (*Para*, 402); 646,6; 646,8; 646,10 (*Add*, 134); 647,11; 647,12 (*Add*, 134); 647,18 (*Add*, 134); 647,21 (*Add*, 134); 647,22; 648,25; 648,29; 648,37 (*Add*, 134); 648,39; 649,41

(*Para*, 402); 649,43; 649,44 (*Add*, 134); 649,45 (*Add*, 134).

31. The long, wedge-shaped and well-groomed spiky beards of the Late Archaic period give way to shorter ones about this time. The bobbed hair of the Getty *pais* is done in relief lines, different from the coiffures of other youths by the Oionokles Painter. But where the painter gives us the old-fashioned beard (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 648,25; 648,34; 648,37 [*Add*, 134]), he does use relief line for the stiff top hair; thus, the boy's fringe is not an isolated feature.

32. Cuirasses and shield aprons (eyes): *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 646,7 (*Add*, 134); 646,8; 648,35; 648,37 (*Add*, 134); 649,47. Decorated material, including pelt (often dotted) and down above wing bars (often V-shaped): *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 646,6–7 (*Add*, 134); 646,10 (*Add*, 134); 647,11; 647,16 (*Add*, 134); 647,17; 648,31 (*Add*, 134); 649,42 (*Para*, 402); 649,44 (*Add*, 134); 649,45 (*Add*, 134).

33. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 646,7 (*Add*, 134); 646,8; 648,35; 648,37 (*Add*, 134); 649,47.

# Polygnotos: An *Iliupersis* Scene at the Getty Museum

Susan B. Matheson

Scenes of Ajax seizing Cassandra, which are extracted from, or part of, a narrative representation of the *Iliupersis*, occur on numerous Attic black-figure and South Italian red-figure vases. They are, however, less common on Attic red-figure vases. Significant iconographic changes that take place between the Attic black-figure representations and those of South Italian vases can be traced through surviving Attic red-figure examples of the episode. The most striking of these changes is the transformation of the striding full-sized Athena of the black-figure scenes into the small Archaic image of the goddess that is accompanied, on the South Italian vases, by a representation of the goddess herself. The earliest surviving representation of this dual manifestation of Athena, i.e. both the goddess and her image, occurs on a fragmentary red-figure volute krater in the J. Paul Getty Museum attributed to Polygnotos and datable to circa 440–435 B.C. (fig. 1a).<sup>1</sup>

Only a small portion of the Ajax and Cassandra scene is preserved on the Getty krater, but the identification of the subject is confirmed by inscriptions labeling Athena, Cassandra, and Ajax.<sup>2</sup> A frontal statue of Athena occupies the center of the composition. The goddess is shown wearing an Attic helmet and holding a spear and shield. The richly decorated peplos and the arrangement of the hair in long corkscrew curls to the shoulders and an orderly row of spiral curls across the forehead designate this as an Archaic image. The toning of the hair with dilute glaze further differentiates the statue from the figures around it.

To the right of the statue the goddess Athena herself

appears, wearing an elaborately decorated version of the Attic helmet, with hinged cheek pieces worn folded up to show winglike undersides. Dilute glaze is used for the divisions and tail of its crest. Athena's hair is rather elaborate for this period, with the curls across her forehead and in front of her ear indicated by raised dots. Her mouth is slightly open, and she appears to watch with some distress as, on the opposite side of the statue, Ajax seizes Cassandra.

From the position of Cassandra's head relative to those of the other figures, it is clear that she is seated or kneeling at the feet of the Athena statue, either on the statue base or on an altar in front of it. The crouching pose that characterizes many black-figure and early red-figure examples of the scene does not appear to be used by Classical and South Italian vase-painters. Cassandra wears a dotted band in her hair with three upright red leaves at the front. The surviving fragments of the vase give no hint as to whether she was clothed or nude, and there is not enough consistency in other representations of the subject to permit confident restoration of this important detail.

A bearded Ajax reaches for Cassandra's shoulder with his right hand (one cannot tell whether he held a sword) and holds a shield on his left arm. The shield's interior, decorated with a four-pointed star, is black; the section behind Ajax's arm, however, is executed in dilute glaze, possibly unintentionally. His baldric, abdominal muscles, and nipples are drawn in dilute glaze, and his Corinthian helmet is toned with the same material. He wears a chlamys over one shoulder, but is otherwise nude.<sup>3</sup> Behind Ajax a

## Abbreviations:

Arias, "Tomba 136": P. E. Arias, "Dalle Necropoli di Spina, La Tomba 136 di Valle Pega," *RivIstArch* n.s. 4 (1955), 95–178.

Davreux, *Cassandre*: J. Davreux, *La légende de la prophétesse Cassandre* (Liège, 1942).

LIMC, "Aias II": O. Touchefeu, "Aias II," *LIMC* 1, 336–51, pls. 253–268.

Moret, *L'Iliupersis*: J. M. Moret, *L'Iliupersis dans la céramique italote*. Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 14 (Rome, 1975).

1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.198. Preserved height: 28.8 cm; diameter of the mouth: 47.7 cm; height of the frieze on the neck: 8.8 cm. I am grateful to Marit Jentoft-Nilsen for providing these dimensions.

The vase is attributed to Polygnotos by Jiri Frel. It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to him for his invitation to publish this vase and for his generous assistance throughout the course of my study.

On the artist—Beazley's "Polygnotos I"—see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1027–33, 1678–1679, 1707, and *Para*, 442.

2. Inscriptions in added-red are now largely ghosts: between the heads of the two Athenas:  $\text{A}\theta\epsilon\text{N}\alpha$ ; to the right of Ajax's helmet, above Cassandra, interrupted by the large chip at the break:  $\text{K}\alpha[\text{SSA}]\text{N}[\Delta\text{P}\alpha]$ ; to the right of Ajax's helmet, higher than the last inscription, next to the break:  $\text{A}\iota\alpha\varsigma$ ; to the right of the goddess Athena's helmet crest:  $\text{M}\epsilon\text{N}\epsilon[\dots]$ , suggesting an additional figure to the right of those remaining, perhaps Menelaos, although his presence would be unusual in this scene.

3. Ajax's lack of body armor is unusual for this date. He is similarly undressed on an amphora in New York by the Ethiop Painter (56.171.41; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 666.12; *LIMC*, "Aias II," no. 63), but not consistently so until the late fifth and fourth centuries (e.g., a cup by the Codrus Painter in the Louvre [G 458; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1270.11; *LIMC*, "Aias II," no. 67] and almost all the South Italian versions from the fourth century). The fully armed Ajax in red-figure vases usually wears a composite cuirass.



Figure 1a. Volute-krater by Polygnotos (side A). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.198.

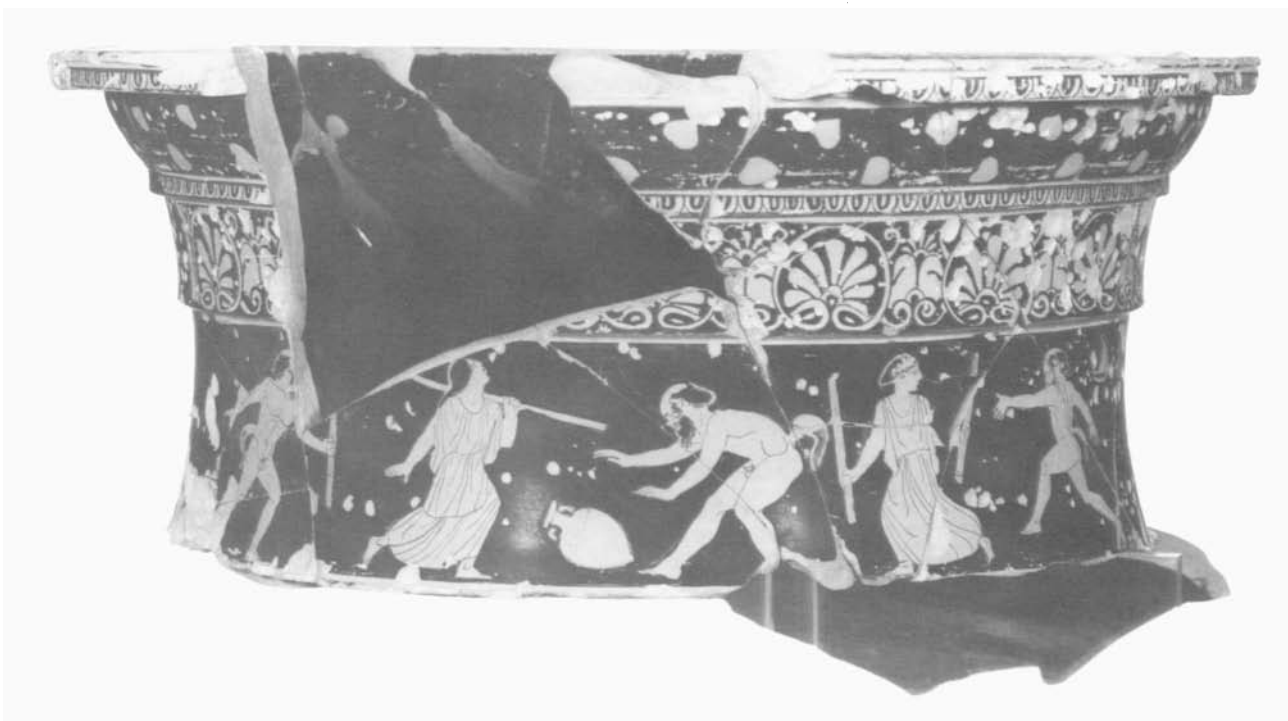


Figure 1b. Side B of volute-krater, figure 1a.

young female attendant or priestess flees to the left, looking back at the scene behind her.<sup>4</sup> She wears a chiton and himation and carries a box decorated with a red rosette and tendrils on her head. To the left of this figure are traces of the inverted palmette surrounding the front root of the krater's handle.

Six satyrs and five maenads cavort in a frieze around the krater's neck (figs. 1a–c).<sup>5</sup> On side A two of the satyrs are completely nude and carry wineskins, while the third bends over with a leopard skin draped across his back. One of the satyrs carries a forked stick. One maenad wears a chiton and himation, while the other two wear a belted peplos with a leopard skin draped over their left arm, in one case pinned at the right shoulder. Each maenad carries a different object: one a leopard, one a forked stick, and the third a thyrsos, which she swings at the bending satyr. A wreath (?) and a kantharos are suspended in the field. On side B one maenad wears a chiton, the second a peplos. The maenad wearing a chiton apparently carries a thyrsos; her hair is worn unfastened and her head is thrown back in ecstasy. The peplos-clad maenad wears a stephane and carries two lighted torches. She is pursued by one of three satyrs. A second satyr, in the center of the composition, appears to have dropped an amphora. The third satyr, at the far left, carries a torch. To the far right of the scene stands a thyrsos, with a kantharos above it in the field (fig. 1c).

Representations of the Ajax and Cassandra scene have



Figure 1c. Neck detail of side B of volute-krater, figure 1a.

been collected most recently by Odette Touchefeu for the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*.<sup>6</sup> Black-figure representations of the subject are remarkably consistent (fig. 2). Ajax, wearing a bell corslet over a short chiton,<sup>7</sup> his face covered by his Corinthian helmet, approaches from the left, sword in hand. Facing him is Athena, striding left, her right arm raised as she brandishes her spear.<sup>8</sup> Her shield, held on her left arm, fills the center of the picture.<sup>9</sup> Beneath it, beside it, or even partly behind it, Cassandra crouches or

4. On the identification of similar fleeing females as priestesses, see T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*, BICS Supplement, no. 20 (1967), 146–147, where the priestess in an Ajax and Cassandra scene is identified as Theano, wife of Antenor; Moret, *L'Iliupersis*, 22–23, following Beazley, CB 3, 62–64, identifies the figures as servants.

5. Added red: ivy wreaths worn by satyrs; crowns of maenads except figure 4 on side B; torch flame of figure 4 on side B. Dilute glaze: side A, L to R: border of figure 1's himation; spots on leopard skin of figure 3; pine cone end of thyrsos; side B: interior details of torches held by figures 1 and 4; abdominal muscles and kneecaps of figure 3; pattern on fallen amphora.

There is a tooled groove at the junction of neck and body, with a band of black tongues in reserved rectangles below it on the vase's shoulder. Another tooled groove marks the top of the satyr and maenad frieze, while above the frieze is an offset pattern-band of alternating lotuses and palmettes (8 palmettes on side A). Above the lotus and palmette band is another offset band of egg pattern, a tooled groove, and a convex band with an ivy and berry pattern. The ivy leaves are reserved, while the vine and the six-berry clusters are in added color, which is now faded but was probably red. A final band of egg-pattern rings the lower outside edge of the lip. The palmette, egg pattern, and ivy bands are interrupted at the point where the krater's handle originally covered them. Red wash has been applied to the underside of the lip and all the tooled grooves.

The mouth is black glaze on top; the vessel's interior is black glaze to the base of the neck, with a reserved band under the shoulder and thinner, uneven black glaze inside the body.

6. LIMC, "Aias II." To this list, add a black-figure cup in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur J. Frank, on loan to the Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin, Madison, unattributed, circa 520 B.C., in W. G. Moon, ed., *Greek Vase Painting in Midwestern Collections*, ex. cat. (Art Institute of Chicago, 1979), no. 59, where the subject is unidentified. It has subsequently been recognized by Moon in *AJA* 85 (1981), 504; and a fragmentary red-figure kylix by Onesimos in the Getty Museum, 83.AE.362, illustrated here, figure 4.

Earlier literature on Ajax and Cassandra includes primarily: Davreux, *Cassandra*; Arias, "Tomba 136," 109–16; CB 3, 62–65; F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, 3rd ed. (Marburg, 1973), 382–386; Moret, *L'Iliupersis*, 11–27.

7. Once he seems to wear just a chiton (LIMC, "Aias II," no. 19), and only once does he appear to be nude (LIMC, "Aias II," no. 36).

8. Like the Athenas on Panathenaic amphorae, she probably reflects an Archaic image of Athena, possibly from the Akropolis in Athens. The identification of the statue is beyond the scope of this paper, but for discussions of the question, see C. J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias* (Manchester, 1955); D. von Bothmer, "A Panathenaic Amphora," *BMAA* 11–12 (1952–1954), 52–56; J. H. Kroll, "The Ancient Image of Athena Polias," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson*, *Hesperia Supplement*, no. 20 (1982), 65–76; Stella G. Miller, "A Miniature Athena Promachos," *Hesperia Supplement*, no. 20 (1982), 93–99.

9. Shown once in profile in black-figure: LIMC, "Aias II," no. 33a (this is not Ajax's shield, as stated on p. 351); more commonly in red-figure, e.g., LIMC, "Aias II," no. 44.

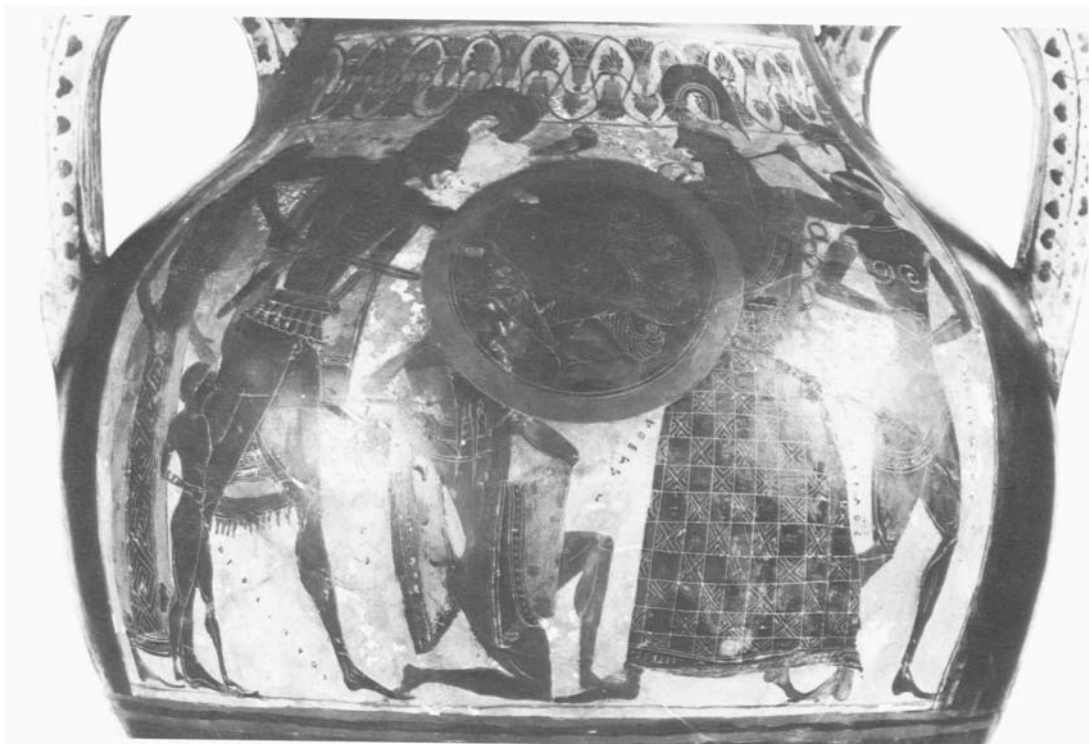


Figure 2. Amphora by an artist in Group E. Berlin, Antikensammlung F 1698. Photo: Courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



Figure 3. Plate by Paseas. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1913.169. Photo: Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery.



kneels at the end of her run to the shelter of the goddess.<sup>10</sup> Although facing Athena, she turns her head back toward Ajax. In many depictions she grasps Athena's shield. In scale, Cassandra varies from full-sized and adult to diminutive and childlike,<sup>11</sup> more commonly the latter as the artist accommodates her figure to the space under the shield. Her dress varies from a short chiton and chlamys to total nudity, with some versions showing her nude except for a chlamys draped across her chest and both arms.<sup>12</sup> Such variations in detail, however, do not alter the underlying similarity of the three-figure group in black-figure vases.

As might be expected, the earliest red-figure representation of Ajax and Cassandra, on a plate attributed to Paseas in the Yale University Art Gallery (fig. 3),<sup>13</sup> has a good deal in common with the black-figure versions. Once again the scene is limited to the three main characters: a diminutive Cassandra between Ajax, who grasps her by the arms, and Athena, behind whose shield she seeks refuge. But here, in the spirit of experimentation that characterized early red-figure vase-painting, Paseas has reversed the composition to show what is essentially the traditional black-figure scene from behind. The result is to increase the dramatic effect of the scene. No longer is Cassandra shielded from Ajax and the viewer by Athena's shield. Instead she appears before the inside of the shield, poignantly small in scale and nude, with her arm linked through Athena's and her hand clutching the goddess' drapery as Ajax pulls her away. The conjunction of Ajax's hand, Cassandra's elbow, and Athena's arm, which focuses the eye on the dramatic as well as the pictorial center of the scene, could not have been executed in black-figure; Paseas has clearly understood the potential of the new red-figure technique and has exploited it for dramatic effect.

Paseas' Athena appears to be a statue, a side view of the one seen on the Getty krater. She stands stiffly with her feet together and her gaze fixed, with no indication of response to the scene before her. Similarly static Athenas on later red-figure vases from Athens and South Italy are clearly designated as statues by their reduced scale and Archaic dress.<sup>14</sup> A relatively early example of this trend toward the

diminutive Archaic Athena statue is the famous Vivenzio hydria by the Kleophrades Painter.<sup>15</sup> It shows a slightly reduced figure standing on a base, wearing a peplos (a rather plain one compared to the one on the Getty krater) and with a hint of the "Archaic smile" to add to her image of venerability. On a krater in Boston,<sup>16</sup> the Altamura Painter introduces frontality to the statue to distinguish it further from the surrounding figures; almost all subsequent images are frontal. The Niobid Painter,<sup>17</sup> the Ethiop Painter,<sup>18</sup> and some artists in the Group of Polygnotos<sup>19</sup> continue to reduce the size of the statue while increasing the size of its base correspondingly. The relative positions of the heads of Cassandra and the Athena statue on the Getty krater indicate that this statue, too, must have stood on a substantial base. In the numerous South Italian versions which succeed the Attic scenes in the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the development reaches its conclusion when the statue and its base are placed in an architectural setting.<sup>20</sup> The corresponding change in Cassandra from small to large scale occurs more quickly: she achieves full adult scale at the time of the Kleophrades Painter's hydria and maintains it thereafter.

The question remains as to whether the black-figure artists intended their Athenas to be understood as statues. Beazley believed that in the Ajax and Cassandra scenes "the figure of Athena always depicts a statue."<sup>21</sup> J. Davreux, followed by Arias and Touchefeu, distinguishes two types: (1) that of most black-figure representations, in which Athena herself tries to protect Cassandra against the antagonist Ajax, and (2) the type represented by the Vivenzio hydria and the Early Classical and Classical examples cited above, in which the figure of Athena is a statue of the goddess.<sup>22</sup> K. Schefold, in his discussion of representations of statues on vases, considers the question "meaningless" (*sinnlos*), although he does state that it was the red-figure painters who first consciously represented Athena as a statue.<sup>23</sup>

Davreux's distinction implies that only the static standing Athenas (both frontal and profile) represent statues, while the striding militant type represents the goddess herself. But an important cup by Onesimos showing scenes from the *Iliupersis*, recently acquired by the Getty

10. For a variation with an altar, which is uncommon in black-figure, see *LIMC*, "Aias II," nos. 38 and 41.

11. Adult and full scale: e.g., *LIMC*, "Aias II," nos. 38 and 42; small and childlike: e.g., *LIMC*, "Aias II," nos. 22, 23, and 28.

12. Clothed, e.g., *LIMC*, "Aias II," no. 28; nude, e.g., *LIMC*, "Aias II," no. 39; chlamys only, e.g., *LIMC*, "Aias II," nos. 33a and 34.

13. Yale University Art Gallery 1913.169; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 163.4; *LIMC*, "Aias II," no. 51.

14. E.g., *LIMC*, "Aias II," nos. 54 and 67 (both Attic) and virtually all South Italian versions. The Archaic dress is usually a peplos, in contrast to the chiton worn by the other figures; if the statue wears a chiton, it generally has archaizing zigzag or swallowtail folds.

15. Naples H 2422; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 189.74. For a contemporary striding red-

figure Athena statue, see figure 4, *infra*.

16. Boston 59.176; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 590.11.

17. Bologna 268; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 598.1 below.

18. New York 56.171.41; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 666.12.

19. Group of Polygnotos, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 43; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1058.114. Painter of London E470 (name vase), British Museum E 470; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 615.2 below.

20. E.g., *LIMC*, "Aias II," no. 56.

21. CB 3, 64.

22. Davreux, *Cassandre*, 140–141, 157; Arias, "Tomba 136," 113; *LIMC*, "Aias II," 350.

23. K. Schefold, "Statuen auf Vasenbildern," *JdI* 52 (1937), 41.





Figure 4. Kylix attributed to Onesimos as painter. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.362.

Museum,<sup>24</sup> preserves a figure of a striding Athena on a base, which proves that this type could also be thought of as a statue (fig. 4). A virtually contemporary black-figure representation exists on a fragmentary hydria by the Priam Painter in the Vatican in which the reduced scale of the Athena and its elevated position relative to the rest of the figures make the identification of it as a statue virtually certain.<sup>25</sup> It is a profile figure, and although its feet are missing, enough of the legs survives to show the outline of the upper part of the calf of the back leg revealed by the

peplos skirt stretched over it; the position of this back leg is identical to that of the familiar striding black-figure Athenas.

The literary sources that refer to the Ajax and Cassandra episode,<sup>26</sup> although fragmentary and secondhand at best, are nevertheless clear on the point that Ajax dragged Cassandra away from a *statue* of Athena. It was not only his violation of Cassandra that brought the wrath of the gods down on Ajax's head, but also his violation of the image of Athena at which Cassandra had taken refuge, and which

24. Malibu 83.AE.362; *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 246. I would like to thank Dyfri Williams for allowing me to use this illustration prior to his forthcoming publication of this cup. A second example exists in fragments of a cup by the Eleusis Painter, Vienna, University 53c 23–25 and 20; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 314.1; *LIMC*, “Aias II,” no. 45.

25. Vatican 733 (ex Astarita collection; *Para*, 147.30; *LIMC*, “Aias II,” no. 38.

26. For a discussion of the literary sources, see Davreux, *Cassandra*, 3–87; Arias, “Tomba 136,” 114–116; *LIMC*, “Aias II,” 336–337; P. G. Mason, “Kassandra,” *JHS* 79 (1959), 80–93.

27. Davreux, *Cassandra*, 165; *LIMC*, “Aias II,” 336; both citing the

*Iliupersis* of Arktinos of Miletos as epitomized by Proclus in the *Chrestomathia*. Cf. also the fresco by Polygnotos of Thasos in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi, Paus. 10.23.6.

28. Moret, *L'Iliupersis*, 12.

29. E.g., *LIMC*, “Aias II,” nos. 44, 38, 60, etc.

30. As she does on *LIMC*, “Aias II,” nos. 60, 64, and 65.

31. E.g., *LIMC*, “Aias II,” nos. 51, 61, 63, and most South Italian examples.

32. Moret, *L'Iliupersis*, 193–225. Moret traces the motif of hair seizing through scenes of combat and sacrifice, noting its use by the Kleophrades Painter and its probable occurrence behind Athena's shield on

she tore from its base as Ajax dragged her away.<sup>27</sup>

J. M. Moret, who with Beazley believes that all the Athenas are statues, suggests that the misunderstanding may arise from the confrontational composition of the black-figure versions—the simple arrangement that positions the Ajax and Athena figures as if they were the primary antagonists.<sup>28</sup> This idea has merit. In versions where other characters or other episodes in the sack of Troy are included,<sup>29</sup> the artists have explicitly shown a statue; in the black-figure extracts from the larger story, the artists have eliminated the visual distinctions in an effort to streamline the scene. The addition of the second figure of Athena when the artist wanted to indicate that the goddess herself was present only serves to confirm the identity of the original figure as a statue.

The goddess on the Getty krater is added as an observer; unlike her black-figure predecessors, she responds emotionally to the scene, but like the statues, she is unable to help Cassandra. Athena's role as a powerless bystander is affirmed by the fact that Cassandra does not look at her.

In the representations of Ajax and Cassandra that precede the Getty krater, the stress of the confrontation between the two protagonists is evident in their poses and the level of their action (running, dragging, pleading). The Getty scene, in contrast, is calm and restrained. Ajax places his hand on Cassandra's shoulder, but he is not visibly dragging her away. Far from expressing fear or supplication, Cassandra looks neither at Ajax<sup>30</sup> nor at the Athena statue.<sup>31</sup> Instead she looks straight ahead, her head tipped slightly down and her lips only slightly parted in quiet, seemingly introspective grief at an inevitable fate. Her relative calm is shared by the woman fleeing to the left. Polygnotos has introduced a new kind of nobility to his figures, distinguishing them from their Archaic and Early Classical predecessors.

His restrained group also stands in marked contrast to another combat motif that enters the repertory of Ajax and Cassandra scenes at this time, that of Ajax seizing Cassandra from behind by the hair as she runs to or kneels by the statue of Athena.<sup>32</sup> The two earliest examples of this motif are virtually contemporary with Polygnotos, one by a follower of the Niobid Painter and another in the Group of

Polygnotos, and it is repeated by numerous South Italian vase-painters.<sup>33</sup> Seizing the hair essentially replaces other methods of capture on vases dated later than the Getty krater, which is one of the last to show the old method.

The Getty krater is one of Polygnotos' most ambitious creations, and it represents the artist's mature style at its peak around 440–435 B.C. The characteristic Polygnotan facial type is fully developed here: a long face with the ear placed almost on a line with the eye; a long nose somewhat squared off at its tip; the mouth slightly open and with a distinct downturn at its corner; and a bulbous chin joined to the lower lip by a straight line. All three of his characteristic nostril types are found on this vase, and Athena's ear exemplifies his distinctive type, which is shaped like an inverted comma to indicate the thickening at the lobe. The eye is drawn with three lines; the iris is an oval disc quite far forward, and two opposing arcs are used for the upper lid as is frequently seen from the mid-fifth century onward.<sup>34</sup> The hair is rendered in a variety of ways: rather solid black masses with wavy contours for both women, with individualized long waves framing Cassandra's forehead; quite stringy separate strands along the edges of Ajax's hair and beard; and an archaizing arrangement of raised dots indicating curls surrounding Athena's face.<sup>35</sup> Given the condition of the vase, little can be said about drapery or anatomical details on the major figures, aside from noting that the junction of Ajax's arm with his body is drawn with a single curved line in contrast to earlier works where two intersecting lines are used,<sup>36</sup> and that his abdominal muscles are drawn in dilute glaze, which replaces the earlier relief line for this task in most (but not all) of Polygnotos' mature and late works.<sup>37</sup> The drawing is free and sure, and Polygnotos has ably represented Ajax's torso in a receding three-quarter view, mirrored by the three-quarter view of the inside of his shield.

As we see on the Getty krater, Polygnotos, like most vase-painters of the Classical period, uses two styles, one for the figures in the major scenes and a second for the smaller figures in subsidiary areas like the neck of a volute krater, as well as in the double register format of some calyx-kraters and on the shoulders of hydriac.<sup>38</sup> Detail in these small figures is minimal, and their style of drawing is

some black-figure Ajax and Cassandra scenes, but he emphasizes that seizing the hair from behind a *kneeling* figure is a novelty when it appears in a Greek and Amazon group on the shield of Phidias' Athena Parthenos; a running Cassandra seized from behind by the hair occurs as early as the Niobid Painter's krater in Bologna, 268; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 598.1 below.

33. Painter of London E 470 (name vase), British Museum E 470; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 615.2 below; *LIMC*, "Aias II," no. 66 (Niobid Group). Group of Polygnotos, unassigned, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 43; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1058.114; *LIMC*, "Aias II," no. 54. South Italian, e.g., *LIMC*, "Aias II," no. 58.

34. On the addition of the third line among Periklean vase-painters, see S. Karouzou, "Stamnos de Polygnotos au Musée National d'Athènes," *RA* (1970), 236–237.

35. Raised dots as ringlets, e.g., the Herakles on an amphora by the Berlin Painter in Basel, BS 456; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1634.1 bis.

36. E.g., Louvre G 375; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.54.

37. Early with relief line: e.g., British Museum 96.7–16.5; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1027.2 Late with dilute glaze: e.g., Bologna 275; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1029.18.

38. E.g., the hydria in Athens, 14983, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.60, and the fragmentary calyx-krater in the Vienna University collection, 505, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1030.33.

even freer and more fluid than that of their larger counterparts. Nevertheless, the long chin and other signature motifs remain. The hand is as unmistakable here as in the rapidly sketched figures on the reverses of the artist's amphorae and stamnoi.

Of the other works from Polygnotos' mature period, the amphora in the British Museum showing the Mission of Triptolemos (fig. 5) appears closest to the Getty krater.<sup>39</sup> That Polygnotos reached his peak between 440 and 435 B.C. is suggested by the relation of vases like the British Museum amphora to the Parthenon frieze: the seated Triptolemos pulls one foot back just as almost all the gods on the east frieze do, in contrast to seated figures of Triptolemos in earlier works by Polygnotos and others.<sup>40</sup> The lines of Kore's himation follow closely the sculptured version of this garment worn by the marshall on East I. The influence of the frieze on the Getty krater is far less specific, but the downward tilt of Cassandra's head and the quiet restraint with which she and her Trojan companion face their situation must surely reflect the dignity and repose of the frieze. More obvious influence occurs on a stamnos in Oxford with the Dioskouroi (fig. 6).<sup>41</sup> Their drapery is less sculptural than Kore's on the British Museum amphora, but the subtle distinctions between moderately flying and moderately quiet drapery, the variation in the downward tilt of the heads of the riders, the positions of their petasoi, and above all the basic composition of overlapping horse-men reflect many of the essential stylistic elements of the Parthenon frieze.<sup>42</sup>

The influence of the frieze is, of course, not as strong in the works of Polygnotos as it is in the Achilles Painter's work or in certain works by the Kleophon Painter. Nor is there any influence of the drapery style of the Parthenon pediments in Polygnotos' late vases. His drapery becomes increasingly sketchy and simplified in the late works, as, for example, on the bell-krater with a citharode in New York and the hydriae in Athens and Brussels,<sup>43</sup> rather than moving toward the complex drapery style of the Eretria and Meidias Painters, with its dozens of small pleats, or



Figure 5. Amphora by Polygnotos. London, British Museum E 281. Photo: Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.

even the fluid but complex drawing style of the Dinos Painter or Aison. Polygnotos' last vases indicate that he continued to work into the 420's but in a stylistic vein that led to Polion<sup>44</sup> rather than through the mainstreams of the late fifth century, the Eretria and Meidias Painters.

The importance of monumental subject matter—scenes from the Trojan epic, amazonomachies, centauromachies, gigantomachies, and individual fights—in Polygnotos' work reflects his artistic roots and brings us to a consideration of his early works.<sup>45</sup> Beazley states that Polygnotos "came from the school of the Niobid Painter,"<sup>46</sup> and it is in his preference for monumental subjects and combat scenes that Polygnotos owes the most to his teacher.<sup>47</sup> His debt is less evident in small Morellian details, with the excep-

39. British Museum E 281; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1030.36.

40. Cf. Florence 75748, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.8, otherwise fairly close to Polygnotos' mature style; Capua 7529, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.7; and an earlier Triptolemos scene by the Niobid Painter on a stamnos in a private collection in Lugano, *Para*, 395.41 ter.

41. The Ashmolean Museum 1916.68; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.6.

42. Cf. for example, West VII and South XIX.

43. New York 21.88.73; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1029.20. Brussels R 226; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.65. Athens 14983; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.60.

44. E.g., Ferrara T 127, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1171.1.

45. See Appendix 1.

46. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1027.

47. See Appendix 2. A second connection with the Niobid Painter, which is more important for the artists in Polygnotos' Group than for

the painter himself, is the continuing popularity of scenes of warriors leaving home. Only one, the stamnos in Capua (7530; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.5), is attributed to Polygnotos, while multiple examples are ascribed to the Hector, Lykaon, and Peleus Painters, along with others in the group. For departure scenes by the Peleus and Hector Painters, see Y. Korshak, "Der Peleusmaler und sein Gefährte, der Hektormaler," *AntK* 23 (1980), 125.

48. Louvre G 375; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.54.

49. Compare the proportions of such figures as the Menelaos on side A of the late Niobid Painter krater in Bologna, 269, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 599.8, or the central figure in the amazonomachy on the krater from Ruvo in Naples, 2421, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 600.13.

50. Name vase: Louvre G 341, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 601.22; krater from Ruvo: Naples, 2421, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 600.13.

51. For an example from the Niobid Group, see the krater by the



Figure 6. Stamnos by Polygnotos. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1916.68. Photo: Courtesy Ashmolean Museum.

tion of what must be one of his earliest works, the pelike in the Louvre with Apollo slaying Tityos (fig. 7).<sup>48</sup> Here the Niobid Painter's style is reflected in the tall, angular Apollo<sup>49</sup> and in the spiral form of the ear, a detail taken from the older artist which Polygnotos abandons almost immediately. The falling Tityos, struck by an arrow, recalls the afflicted son of Niobe to the left of Artemis on the Niobid Painter's name vase in the way he braces his knee on a rock. Polygnotos' Tityos lacks the foreshortened knee of the falling Niobid. Tityos' pose is similar to that of the Amazon in another late Niobid Painter work, the krater from Ruvo in the Naples Museum.<sup>50</sup> The use of terrain lines to suggest rocks—a practice rare in the Niobid Painter's work apart from his name vase, although more frequent among members of his Group—

is carried on here and elsewhere by Polygnotos.<sup>51</sup>

The interest in the three-quarter view of the face that Polygnotos displays on the Louvre pelike reflects both the Niobid Painter<sup>52</sup> and a general fondness for the device in the second and third quarters of the fifth century B.C. It is found on other vases of this date as well as on the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and on the Parthenon frieze. Polygnotos is even more liberal in his use of the three-quarter view of the body in combination with a profile face, as seen in the figure of Ajax on the Getty krater.<sup>53</sup> An early example, the signed stamnos in Brussels with Kaineus and the centaurs, combines the three-quarter view with a rocky terrain line underneath the centaur's hooves (Fig. 8).<sup>54</sup> The early date for this vase, circa 450 B.C., is

Painter of the Woolly Satyrs in New York, 07.286.84, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 613.1. Among Polygnotos' works with terrain lines suggesting landscape: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1027.1 both sides (although he still uses the macander border as the groundline for Kaineus, as he does again in the late krater in Bologna [275, here fig. 11; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1029.18], in a tradition reaching back into black-figure. On Kaineus scenes, see B. Cohen, "Paragone: Sculpture versus Painting, Kaineus and the Kleophrades Painter," in W. G. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* [Madison, 1983], 171–192; on the stamnos by Polygnotos in Brussels, see p. 172, and on the krater in Bologna, 275, see p. 192 n. 154), 1032.53, 1032.54, 1032.55. Within the Polygnoton Group, terrain lines are most notable on the pelike by the Lykaon Painter in Boston, 34.79, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1045.2. On the relation between terrain lines in vase-painting of the 460's to the 440's and monumental painting, see E. Simon, "Polygnoton Painting and the Niobid Painter,"

*AJA* 67 (1963), 43–62; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), 240–270; Cohen (supra, this note), 184–186.

52. Niobid Painter, e.g. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 599.2, 602.22, 602.24; Niobid Group e.g. *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 613.1 (Painter of the Woolly Satyrs); Polygnotos, e.g., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.15, 1030.35, 1032.55. See also Cohen (supra, note 51), 176–177, on the possible derivation of the earliest three-quarter views from monumental painting.

53. Front view, e.g., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1027.1, 1028.14, 1028.15, 1029.28, 1030.34, 1030.36, 1031.37, 1031.38, 1032.55, 1032.58, 1032.60. Back view, e.g., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1029.18, 1029.20, 1031.38, 1031.47, 1032.53.

54. Brussels A 134; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1027.1 (not visible in this photograph).



Figure 7. Pelike by Polygnotos. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 375. Photo: Courtesy M. Chuzeville.



Figure 8. Stamnos signed by Polygnotos. Brussels, Musées Royaux A 134. Photo: Courtesy Hirmer Verlag, Munich.

suggested first by the fact that Kaineus is fully armed and wearing a corslet, as he is in black-figure and Early Classical red-figure representations. By contrast, he appears nude except for a helmet and shield in Classical versions, where the nudity of the Lapiths in the battle at the wedding feast of Perithoos has come to pervade both the countryside centauromachies and the Kaineus scenes.<sup>55</sup> Other early features include the Archaic form of the centaur's eye and the mass of wavy hair framed in glaze streaming out behind the head of the left centaur.

Four of the five vases signed by Polygnotos appear to be early, although they are rather different in style from the Louvre pelike.<sup>56</sup> The signed amphora in Moscow, which Beazley describes as early without giving his reasons, shows Achilles in retirement on side B (fig. 9) and Eos driving a biga on side A.<sup>57</sup> The occurrence of two distinct subjects on the two sides of the vase relates it more to vases of the second quarter of the fifth century than to the characteristic formula of the second half of the century which places undistinguished single figures or conversation groups on side B. Drawing the hair as a solid black mass is also an early feature.

The signed Polygnotos stamnos in the British Museum showing Herakles and the centaur Eurytion (fig. 10)<sup>58</sup> should be regarded as early on the basis of the awkward proportions of the centaur's body (legs too short, body too long); the separation of the pectoral muscles with a carefully drawn, widely spaced double line; the use of relief line for the abdominal muscles; and the stiff, slightly misunderstood folds of Mnesimache's himation. On the other hand, the Polygnotan ear and basic facial type are clearly present, and in spite of the relatively undeveloped quality of the drawing, the style is already quite distinct from that of the Niobid Painter.

Finally, the signed pelike in Syracuse showing a Greek battling an Amazon (fig. 11) is related to the early Louvre pelike in ornament and use of terrain lines.<sup>59</sup> The proportions of the tall, long-legged Greek recall the Niobid Paint-

55. On the change from armed to nude Lapiths, see Cohen (*supra*, note 51), 173–175. In Polygnotos' other Kaineus scene, the krater in Bologna, 275 (fig. 11), the Lapith king is nude except for his helmet, which places the vase later than the Brussels stamnos. The Bologna krater shows an otherwise uncontaminated countryside battle, with the left centaur wielding a branch and Kaineus' opponent the usual rock.

56. The fifth signature is on a fragment in Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1030.28 bis; I have seen neither the fragment nor a photograph of it.

57. Pushkin Museum 73, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1030.34; "an early work of the painter," J. D. Beazley, "Citharoedus," *JHS* 42 (1922), 70 n. 5.

58. British Museum 96.7–16.5; ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1027.2, 1678.

59. Syracuse 23507; ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1032.53. B. Philippaki, *The Attic Stamnos* (Oxford, 1967), 151, sees a connection in shape and decorative patterns between the Villa Giulia Painter and early works by Polygnotos, noting that the signed pelike 23507 has "exactly the same" shape, floral patterns,

er's late figures, but Polygnotos' drawing style is already softer and more fluid than that of his teacher. The Amazon in particular is rather slight and delicate compared to her formidable counterparts on the Niobid Painter's vases. Another hint that this vase is still early is the fact that the Amazon wears trousers with definite hems above the shoes; later these patterned garments appear to continue down into the shoes like tights.<sup>60</sup>

The subject of the Syracuse pelike brings us back to Polygnotos' preference for combat scenes and other monumental subjects. The Getty krater provides an important new piece of evidence that not only confirms this preference, but also changes our perception of the relative importance of Trojan subjects in Polygnotos' oeuvre. It now becomes clear that subjects from the Trojan epic span Polygnotos' career, from the early Moscow amphora through the Getty krater of his mature phase to the later fragmentary krater in the Vienna University collection, which shows multiple episodes from the story of Achilles: the nereids bringing armor, the Ransom of Hektor, and Achilles Mourning for Patroklos.<sup>61</sup> In addition, the Getty Ajax and Cassandra scene significantly increases our understanding of the way in which Polygnotos represented subjects of this type in what can be considered his major works. Along with the krater fragment in Adria with the death of Laios and the Bologna krater with Kaineus and a centaur-machy (fig. 12),<sup>62</sup> the Getty krater brings to three the number of surviving vases by Polygnotos where an epic or combat scene is treated on the large scale and with the complexity of composition that are particularly characteristic of the Niobid Painter and his Group. The Getty krater remains the only example of a Trojan subject by Polygnotos executed in this monumental style. This conception of the Ajax and Cassandra scene places Polygnotos securely in the tradition of the Niobid Painter and verifies more surely than any of the details on his vases Beazley's perception of the origins of Polygnotos' style.

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and ornament as the pelike 22177 in Syracuse by the Villa Giulia Painter.

60. With hems, e.g., on the Niobid Painter's krater in Palermo, G 1283, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 599.2, and a krater near the Penthesilea Painter in Bologna, 289, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 891; with "tights," e.g., the closely related pelike in Syracuse by a member of Polygnotos' Group, 9317, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1059.132, and a squat lekythos by Aison in Naples, RC 239, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1174.6.

61. On Trojan subjects by Polygnotos and his Group, see Appendix 2. On the subject of the Vienna University krater and its possible relation to Aeschylus' *Achilles* trilogy, see H. Kenner, *ÖJh* 33 (1941), 1–24; Webster (supra, note 4), 142–143, noting the same combination of subjects on a large squat lekythos by the Eretria Painter in New York, 31.11.13, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1248.9; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London, 1972), 91–92.

62. On the Adria krater, see Appendix 2, and on the Bologna centaur-machy, supra, note 55.



Figure 9. Amphora signed by Polygnotos. Moscow, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts 73. Photo: After a museum photo.

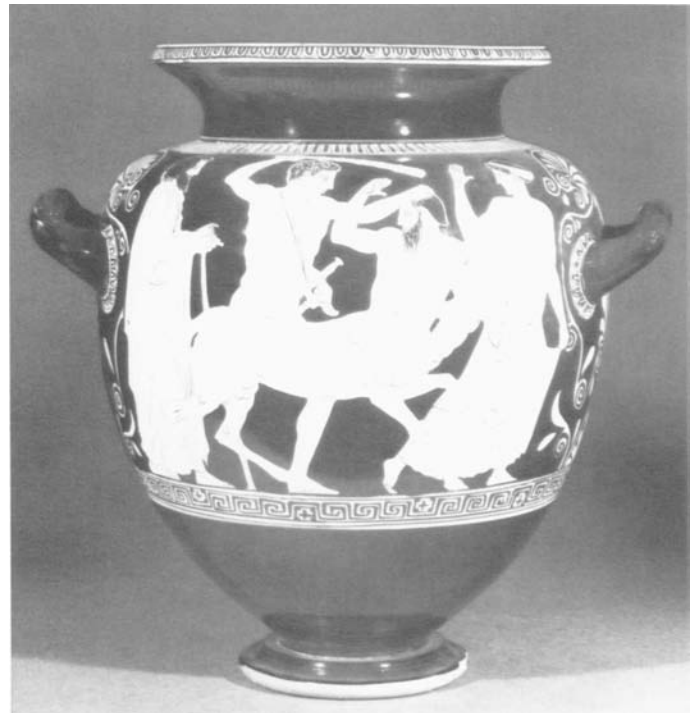


Figure 10. Stamnos signed by Polygnotos. London, British Museum 96.7–16.5. Photo: Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.





Figure 11. Pelike signed by Polygnotos. Syracuse, Museo Nazionale 23507. Photo: Alinari (Anderson 29315).

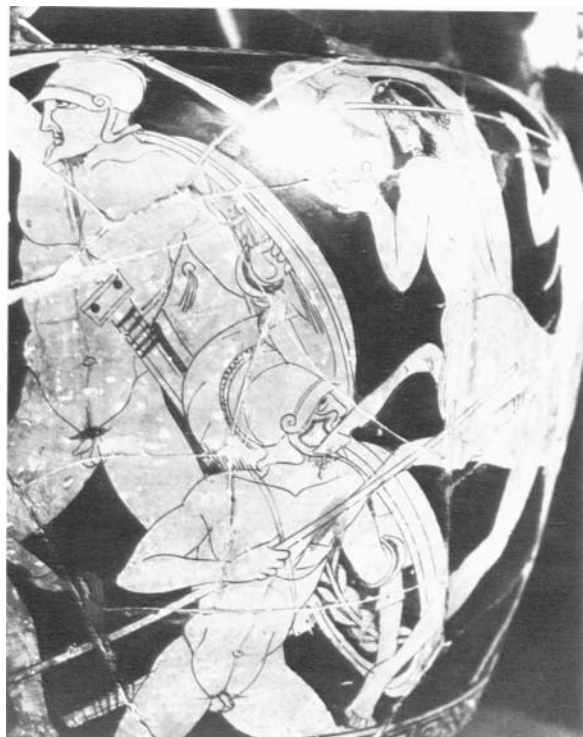


Figure 12. Volute-krater by Polygnotos. Bologna, Museo Civico 275. Photo: DAI Rome, neg. no. 4777.

#### APPENDIX 1

##### PROVISIONAL CHRONOLOGY OF VASES BY POLYGNOTOS

This list is intended to define the parameters of the major chronological groupings discernible in Polygnotos' work. It obviously does not include every vase attributed to Polygnotos, nor does it suggest a chronological arrangement within each phase. I intend to deal with both these issues in a future publication.

##### *Early, circa 450 B.C.*

- Louvre G 375, pelike, Apollo and Tityos, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.54
- Villa Giulia 3584, stamnos, symposion, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.15
- Brussels A 134, stamnos, Kaineus and centaurs, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1027.1
- London 96.7-16.5, stamnos, Herakles and Eurytion, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1027.2
- Moscow, Pushkin Museum 73, amphora, A: Eos in a biga, B: Achilles in retirement, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1030.34
- Syracuse 23507, pelike, amazonomachy, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.53

##### *Slightly more developed, but not yet mature, circa 450-445 B.C.*

- Capua 7529, stamnos, Triptolemos, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.7
- Capua 7530, stamnos, warrior leaving home, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.5
- Florence 4227, stamnos, Herakles "Auletes," *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.11

##### *Mature, circa 445-430 B.C.*

- Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.198, volute-krater, Ajax and Cassandra
- London E 281, amphora, Triptolemos, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1030.36
- Florence 75748, stamnos, Triptolemos, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.8
- Oxford 1916.68, stamnos, Dioskouroi, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.6
- London E 455, stamnos, sacrifice, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.9
- Once Gotha 51, stamnos, sacrifice, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.10
- Bologna 308, bell-krater, symposion, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1029.28
- New York 45.11.1, pelike, Perseus and Medusa, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.59
- Adria Bc 104, bell-krater fragments, death of Laios, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1029.19

##### *Late, circa 430-420 B.C.*

- Oxford 522, stamnos, amazonomachy, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.3
- Athens 18063, stamnos, Theseus, Helen, Perithoos, and Phoibe, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.13
- Ferrara T 411, bell-krater, Amazons setting out, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1029.21
- Ferrara T 271, hydria, Peleus and Thetis, Eos in a biga, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.58
- Athens 14983, hydria, Menelaos and Helen, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.60
- Brussels R 226, hydria, Zeus pursuing a woman, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.65
- Louvre G 430, amphora, satyrs and maenads, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1031.40
- Vienna, University 505, calyx-krater fragments, with two rows of pictures: above, nereids with armor for Achilles; below, A, Ransom of Hektor, B, Achilles Mourning for Patroklos, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1030.33
- New York 21.88.73, bell-krater, citharode, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1029.20
- Bologna 275, volute-krater, centauromachy with Kaineus, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1029.18

Only one previous attempt has been made to impose a chronology on the vases of Polygnotos. In her work on the relative chronology of vase-painters in the second half of the fifth cen-

tury C. Isler-Kerenyi dates Polygnotos' period of activity from shortly before or around 450 to the 420's and places his peak late in his career, circa 430 ("Chronologie und 'Synchronologie' attischer Vasenmaler der Parthenonzeit," *Zur Griechischen Kunst; Hansjörg Bloesch zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 5. Juli 1972. AntK, Beiheft 9* [1973], 23–33, especially p. 26). She considers his early works to be those with traditional themes, such as scenes of warriors leaving home and Triptolemos scenes. Capua 7530 and 7529 are thus early; on the other hand, the Triptolemos stamnos in Florence, 75748, is held to be influenced by the Parthenon and thus to be later than 440. Other early vases are the Villa Giulia symposium stamnos, 3584, the Louvre pelike with Apollo and Tityos, G 375, and the signed stamnos in London with Herakles and the centaur Eurytion, 96.7–16.5. Only passing reference is made to Polygnotos' relation to his teacher, the Niobid Painter, and it is restricted to citing comparable subject matter: amazonomachies and the Mission of Triptolemos. The signed Brussels stamnos, A 134, and the hydria in Mississippi from the Robinson collection (ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1032.64) are both dated circa 440. They are followed between 440 and the late 430's by three stamnoi that are viewed as influenced by the Parthenon frieze: Oxford 1916.68 with the Dioskouroi; Oxford 522 with Greeks fighting Amazons; and Florence 75748, Mission of Triptolemos. The artist's peak, circa 430, is represented by a single vase, the extremely fragmentary krater in Adria with the death of Laïos, Bc 104, and only one vase, the krater in Bologna with a centauromachy, 275, is cited as characteristic of his latest works in the 420's. Although no vases are specifically mentioned as examples, those with offering scenes (presumably British Museum 455, and formerly Gotha 51); Dionysiac subjects (presumably, e.g., Louvre G 406, and Naples, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1029.25); and gigantomachies (Louvre G 375 is the only example of this subject in Beazley's list of Polygnotos' work) are placed after 440 as subjects typical of the *Parthenonzeit*. The inclusion of the gigantomachy in this group of later subjects while placing the only vase representing it close to 450 points to the hazards of a dating method which relies rather heavily on subject matter. Unfortunately, Trojan subjects are not mentioned by Dr. Isler-Kerenyi, since the Getty krater, which was undoubtedly unknown to her, would have provided an interesting test for her chronology. She mentions only two of the four signed vases; the amphora in Moscow, Pushkin Museum 73, which Beazley describes as early (see *supra*, note 57), is not cited. With the exception of the influence of the Parthenon frieze, any stylistic criteria used in the final list are not explicit.

In addition to Isler-Kerenyi's chronology, dates for a number of individual vases have been suggested, most of them around 440. As noted, Beazley describes the signed amphora in Moscow, 73, as early (*supra*, note 57). B. Philippaki links the shape and ornament of the signed pelike in Syracuse, 23507, to a pelike by the Villa Giulia Painter (see *supra*, note 59). S. Karouzou places the stamnos in Athens, 18063, and the pelike in New York, 45.11.1, around 430 or at the beginning of the 420's (*supra*, note 34, p. 252). S. Aurigemma dates the hydria in Ferrara, T 271, to 430–420 B.C. (*La necropoli di Spina in Valle Trebbia*, vol. 1 [Rome, 1960], 160), although it is dated circa 440 in N. Alfieri, P. E. Arias, and M. Hirmer, *Spina* (Florence, 1958), 50. Y. Korshak in

her work on the Peleus and Hector Painters, suggests that Polygnotos, the Hector Painter, and the Lykaon Painter began working before the Peleus Painter ("The Peleus Painter and the Art of His Time," unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1973, 172). I am grateful to Dr. Korshak for providing me with a copy of her dissertation. She dates the Peleus Painter's career to 445–435/430 ("Der Peleusmaler und sein Gefährte, der Hektormaler," *AntK* 23 [1980], 131) and correctly points out that the Peleus Painter and, under his influence, the Kleophon Painter are more obviously influenced by the Parthenon frieze than is Polygnotos, whom she views as anachronistically looking back to Early Classical styles ("The Peleus Painter and the Art of His Time," 163–166, 172–174, 192–197). She does not, however, suggest specific dates for Polygnotos' career. There are no vases by Polygnotos among those in the Rheneia deposit, from the purification of Delos in 426/25; there are, however, two by followers of his, a hydria by the Christie Painter, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1049.58, and another by a member of the Group of Polygnotos, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1061.149.

## APPENDIX 2

### COMBAT AND EPIC IN VASES BY POLYGNOTOS, THE NIOBID PAINTER, AND THEIR GROUPS

Excluding scenes from the Trojan Epic, twelve of the seventy-one vases attributed to Polygnotos by Beazley have combat scenes such as amazonomachies, gigantomachies, and centauromachies:

- Brussels A 134, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1027.1
- London 96.7–16.5, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1027.2
- Oxford 522, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1028.3
- Bologna 275, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1029.18
- Ferrara T 724 B VP, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1029.22
- Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 421 and part of 420, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1030.30
- London E 280, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1030.35
- London E 272, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1031.38
- Berlin 2353, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1031.39
- Syracuse 23507, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1032.53
- Louvre G 375, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1032.54
- Ferrara T 711 B VP, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 1032.63

A smaller proportion of the surviving vases by the Niobid Painter and his Group have subjects of this type:

#### *Niobid Painter:*

- Bologna 268 (neck), ARV<sup>2</sup>, 598.1
- Palermo G 1283, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 599.2
- Leningrad 6796, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 599.3
- Naples 2421, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 600.13
- Louvre G 341, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 601.22
- Ferrara T 313, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 602.24
- Taranto, no inv. no., ARV<sup>2</sup>, 602.25

#### *Manner of the Niobid Painter:*

- Athens, Agora P 104, P 110, and P 223, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 609.7
- Delos, no inv. no., ARV<sup>2</sup>, 612.42

#### *Painter of Bologna 279:*

- Ferrara T 579, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 612.1
- Switzerland, private collection, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 612.2
- Bologna 279, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 612.3



*Painter of the Woolly Satyrs:*

- New York 07.286.84, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 613.1  
 Louvre C 10749, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 613.2  
 Ferrara T 607, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 614.12  
 Coulommiers, René Majurel collection, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 614.13

*Geneva Painter:*

- Geneva MF 238, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 615.1

*Painter of the Berlin Hydria:*

- New York 07.286.86, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 616.3

These subjects are relatively rare among vases by or near the named painters in Polygnotos' Group, with the exception of the Christie Painter:

*Near the Hector Painter:*

- Leningrad 769, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1037.3 (below)  
 Florence 4004, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1038.5

*Manner of the Peleus Painter:*

- Ferrara T 128, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1041.5  
 Ferrara T 300, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1041.6

*Curti Painter:*

- Syracuse 22833, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1042.4

*Near the Curti and Peleus Painters:*

- Athens, Agora P 12641, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1043.1

*Guglielmi Painter:*

- Vatican, no inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1043.1  
 Naples 1768, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1043.3

*Epimedes Painter:*

- London E 450, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1043.1

*Christie Painter:*

- London 64.10-7.1680, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1048.32  
 Bari, no inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1048.33  
 Taranto 107946-7, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1048.34  
 London 98.7-15.1, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1048.35  
 Copenhagen 2694, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1048.36  
 Brussels A 133, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1048.39  
 Leningrad 3374, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1048.40

*Close to the Christie Painter:*

- Once London, Edwards collection, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1049.1

In contrast, they are well represented among vases by unnamed painters in Polygnotos' Group (Beazley's Group of Polygnotos, undetermined):

- Naples 3089, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1050.4  
 Once Paris, Péreire collection, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1051.10  
 Louvre G 414, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1051.11  
 Naples 2663 and Leipzig T 665, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1051.12  
 Vatican, no inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1051.13  
 Bologna 176, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1051.14  
 Louvre C 11034, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1052.28  
 London 99.7-21.5, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1052.29  
 Ferrara T 961, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1053.30  
 Naples RC 148, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1054.50  
 Madrid 11013, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1054.51  
 Naples RC 161, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1055.74  
 Lucerne Market (A. A.), *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1056.92  
 Syracuse 23629, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1057.106

- Chicago, University, no inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1057.107  
 Atlanta, no inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1058.115  
 Mississippi, University, no inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1058.116  
 Villa Giulia 50777, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1059.122  
 New York 38.11.4, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1059.128  
 Athens 1182, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1059.132  
 Mulgrave Castle, no inv. no., *Para*, 442  
 Basel, Herbert Cahn collection, *Para*, 445.50 bis

Scenes from the Trojan Epic (not including the marriage of Peleus and Thetis or departure of warrior scenes with Trojan names like Hektor) include the following:

*Niobid Painter:*

- Bologna 268, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 598.1  
 Reggio di Calabria, no inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 599.5 (?)  
 Bologna 269, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 599.8  
 Ferrara T 936, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 601.18

*Manner of the Niobid Painter:*

- Bologna 291, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 608.5  
 Reggio di Calabria, no inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 609.6 bis  
 Athens, Agora P 21352, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 609.12

*Niobid Group:**Connected with the Geneva Painter:*

- Louvre G 482, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 615

*Painter of London E 470:*

- Los Angeles A 5933.51.108, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 615.1  
 London E 470, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 615.2

*Polygnotos:*

- Athens 18063, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1028.13  
 Vienna, University, 505, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1030.33  
 Moscow, Pushkin Museum 73, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1030.34  
 Leipzig T 667, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1032.62  
 Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.198

*Group of Polygnotos:**Hector Painter:*

- Vatican, no inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1036.8

Add the hydria in the Getty Museum, 86.AE.97, attributed by D. von Bothmer to the Circle of Polygnotos, probably the Hector Painter: armor brought to Achilles, published in M. True and J. Frel, *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection* (Malibu, 1983), no. 117.

*Peleus Painter:*

- Magdeburg, no inv. no., *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1039.5  
 Athens 15299, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1040.14

*Group of Polygnotos, undetermined:*

- Perugia 81, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1050.3  
 Once Gela, Campisi collection, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1054.45  
 Ferrara T 53 A VP, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1054.46  
 Gela V lxvii, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1054.47(?)  
 Once Rome, Strong collection, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1056.93  
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 43, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1058.114

Note should also be made here of the fragmentary krater by Polygnotos in Adria with the death of Laios, Museo Civico Bc 104; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1029.19. On this vase as an illustration of the *Laios* of Aeschylus, see Webster (*supra*, note 4), 142.

# Some Gnathia Pottery in the J. Paul Getty Museum

J. R. Green

We begin with a small fragment (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> A satyr stands, facing left, holding a thyrsos in front of him in his right hand. The figure is drawn with incised lines, and white is added for his hair, beard, and the stem of his thyrsos. The incision is firm and consistent, and the artist has managed to convey the roundness of body and arm with a remarkable economy. The context of this piece becomes clearer by comparison with the fragments of another calyx-krater, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> They depict a satyr standing before a seated woman, and she must hold the wreath, a part of which is preserved between the satyr's right hand and the edge of the sherd. Another fragment from the Metropolitan calyx-krater has the lower part of a woman moving right, while a fourth piece has some dotted groundline with what looks like the end of a sash or girdle over it.<sup>3</sup> The whole scene was drawn in incision with a limited use of white for details such as hair, beard, tail, and female flesh. The effect is pleasing in its simplicity. On the New York vase, this effect contrasts with the scene on the front, which was drawn in an elaborate polychrome technique.

The drawing of these two sets of fragments is undoubtedly by the same hand: the heads of the satyrs are so similar that they might have been drawn on the same morning. It is tempting to associate them with the calyx-krater in Boston (figs. 3a–b),<sup>4</sup> not only because it is decorated in polychrome technique on the front and with incised outline on the back, as are the New York fragments, but also because the woman on the reverse has her drapery decorated in the same, individual manner as the woman shown moving right on the smaller New York fragment; more importantly, the drawing of her drapery seems to have touches of the same style as that of the seated woman (fig. 2).

The Boston vase inevitably introduces the problem of the Konnakis Painter, widely regarded as the founder of the Gnathia technique and style. Yet scholars' concepts of this painter have been so varied that little security can be offered in the classification of this vital phase in the development of Gnathia pottery.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, it is probably possible to accept the attribution of the Würzburg fragment with tragic actor and the Eumenides krater in the Hermitage along with these vases and the Konnakis fragments them-

## Abbreviations:

The following abbreviations have been employed in addition to those in normal use:

*Art of S. Italy*: M. E. Mayo and K. Hamma, eds., *The Art of South Italy. Vases from Magna Graecia*, ex. cat. (Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1982). There is a convenient outline of the development of Gnathia pottery on pp. 255–259.

*Bareiss Coll.*: *Greek Vases. Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection*, ex. cat. (Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1983).

Forti: L. Forti, *La ceramica di Gnathia* (Naples, 1965).

*Gnathia...Bonn*: J. R. Green, *Gnathia Pottery in the Akademisches Kunstmuseum, Bonn* (Mainz, 1976).

Schneider-Herrmann: G. Schneider-Herrmann, *Red-Figured Lucanian and Apulian Nestorides and Their Ancestors* (Amsterdam, 1980).

I am most grateful to Jiří Frel for his invitation to publish the Gnathia in the Getty Museum and to Marit Jentoft-Nilsen for much practical help. J. M. Murphy has pursued with efficiency and good humor references inaccessible in Sydney. For photographs and/or permission to use them, I should also like to thank G. Beckel, D. von Bothmer, A. Cambitoglou, F. J. Hassel, J. W. Hayes, R. V. Nicholls, H. Nicolet, J. V. Noble, W. Oberleitner, A. Pasquier, K. Schauenburg, A. Steiner, F. Wolsky, and the Trustees of the British Museum.

1. Malibu 86.AE.444; formerly on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art L.69.11.50. Maximum height: 5.5 cm; maximum width: 8.6 cm. *Bareiss Coll.*, 86, no. 241. Orange-buff (Tarentine) clay; probably from a calyx-krater.

2. 10.210.17b–d, Rogers Fund. Published most recently in *Art of S. Italy*, no. 119 (with earlier references). Dietrich von Bothmer, who has been able to compare the two, agrees that they are unlikely to be from the same vase. I am most grateful to him for his help.

3. This fragment is shown upside-down in *Art of S. Italy*, 261. It looks as if it should come from the base of the wall, immediately above the convex molding; it is perhaps from the right of the scene.

4. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.363. H. Bulle, "Von griechischen Schauspielern und Vasenmalern," *Festschrift für James Loeb zum sechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen archäologischen Freunden in Deutschland und Amerika* (Munich, 1930), 30–31, figs. 19a–b; M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, 1st ed. (London and The Hague, 1939), figs. 376–377, 2d ed. (Princeton, 1961), figs. 502a–b; F. F. Jones, *The Theater in Ancient Art* (Princeton, 1951), no. 33, pl. 9; L. Catteruccia, *Pitture vascolari italiane di soggetto teatrale comico* (Rome, 1951), no. 77, pl. 12; Forti, pl. 12; A. D. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, 2d ed. (London, 1967), no. 177.

5. In *Art of S. Italy*, 252, I described him as a "rather nebulous figure," and Amy Brauer in the same publication (under nos. 121–122) independently pointed out one inconsistency. The original concept was Bulle's (supra, note 4); I am unable to accept his grouping but it was, of course, based on much less evidence than is now available. He did not, however, name the painter; the term *Konnakis Painter* was first applied by A. Rumpf, *JdI* 49 (1934), 17. On these problems, see also Forti, 99–100. I hope to deal with the question more fully on another occasion.

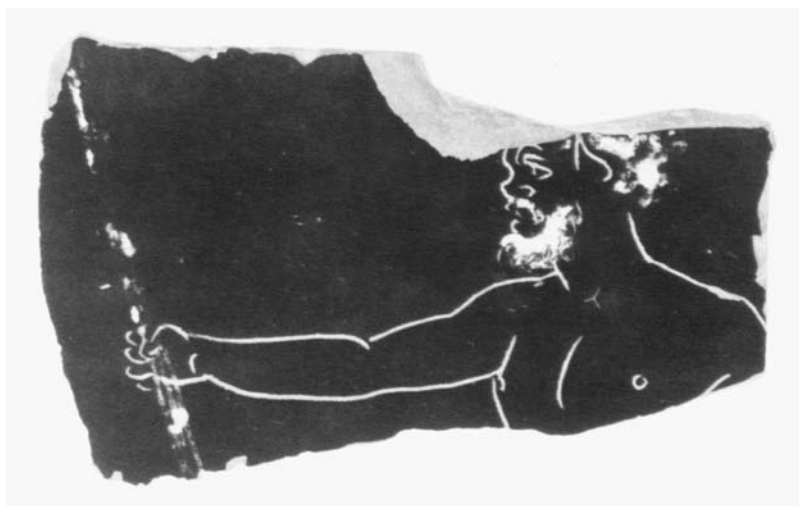


Figure 1. Fragment of calyx-krater (?). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.444.



Figure 2. Fragments of a calyx-krater. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 10.210.17b-c.



Figures 3a–b. Calyx-krater, details. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.363. Photo: Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts.

selves.<sup>6</sup> From even this small nucleus, however, it is possible to see some of the characteristic features of earliest Gnathia: the isolation of figures against the black ground, without filling ornaments or frame; the use of a careful polychromy in combination with incised outline; and the employment of large shapes, at this stage all kraters.

Slightly later in date is the epichysis in the Getty Museum (figs. 4a–b).<sup>7</sup> It is made of a good orange-buff clay and is carefully constructed with a narrow, beaked spout that has a modeled edge; a handle with a raised curved molding along its outer face; well-impressed female heads at the upper handle-root; and the inner face of the foot set off from the underside of the floor. The body of the vase is rather squat, and this is one of the earliest examples of the round-bodied type in Gnathia. An epichysis of the same type in Mainz (figs. 5a–b) belongs to much the same stage.<sup>8</sup> It was made in a different workshop (to judge

by the decoration, the workshop of the Rose Painter) but has the same overall characteristics. Later versions have the center of gravity higher, with a more globular body and something of a stem between body and foot;<sup>9</sup> they never carry figure scenes and only rarely female heads; more often vines or wreaths of laurel.

The origin of the shape is difficult to determine. There are three types of epichysis: the standard with the flanged box-body (fig. 6); the round-bodied like the vases just discussed (figs. 4, 5); and the flat, which has a low, squat body like that of the flat lekythos (fig. 7).<sup>10</sup> Of vessels with closely related function, there are the flat lekythos, the squat lekythos (which is the standard shape), and the bottle (cf. figs. 16, 17), as well as two rare shapes which have a trefoil mouth like that of an oinochoe: the lekythos-oinochoe (fig. 8), which has a body like that of a bottle or our type of epichysis,<sup>11</sup> and the flat jug (fig. 9).<sup>12</sup> That is, the mouths

6. Conveniently, Bulle (*supra*, note 4), pl. 2 above and 24–25, figs. 9–10; Forti, pls. 10–11.

7. Malibu 86.AE.447. Height (inc. handle): 18 cm; diameter: 8.4 cm. *Bareiss Coll.*, 63, no. 46, 86, no. 244.

8. Mainz, RGZM 0.12457, *CVA* 2, pl. 20, 9–10 (already attributed to the workshop of the Rose Painter by H. Büsing-Kolbe).

9. The shape is particularly common in the years following circa 330 B.C., but it dies out near the end of the century, as do most of the smaller oil-vessels.

10. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 69.11.69, Parke-Bernet, New York, December 4, 1969, lot 244; London WT 131, *CVA*

1, pl. 6 (42), 18.

11. London, British Museum 67.5–8.1206, *CVA* 1, pl. 6 (42), 19. The edge of the mouth has the same molding as that of a bottle, almost as if the potter had originally thrown a bottle mouth and then converted it into jug form. See also Naples 80917 (*sic*), *CVA* 3, pl. 68, 3. The shape also appears in metal, as, for example, in *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1948–1949, 98, fig. 11; K. Ninou, ed., *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia*, ex. cat. (Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike, n.d.), no. 35, from Kozani; or the very similar *ADelt* 18 (1963), pl. 226c, from Derveni.

12. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.69.1896 (G.258a), *CVA* 1, pl. 43, 26. There are not many examples; most are ribbed and belong



*Figure 4a.* Epichysis. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum  
86.AE.447.

*Figure 4b.* Side of epichysis, figure 4a.



Figure 5a. Epichysis. Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum 0.12457.



Figure 5b. Side of epichysis, figure 5a.



Figure 6. Epichysis. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Winslow Carlton Gift Fund, 1969, 69.11.69.



Figure 7. Flat-bodied epichysis. London, British Museum WT 131.



Figure 8. Lekythos-oinochoe. London, British Museum 67.5-8.1206.

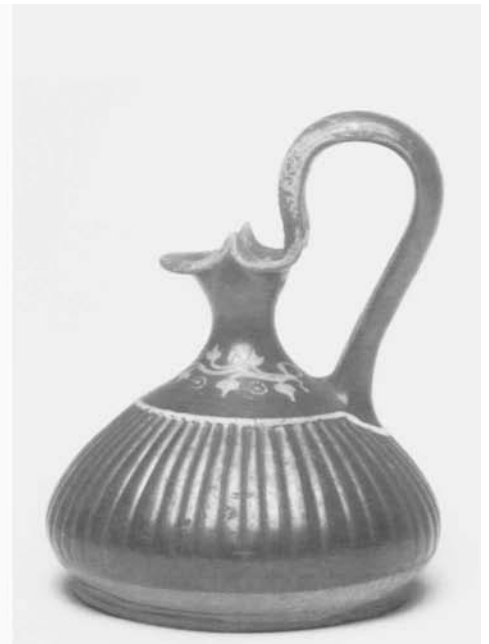


Figure 9. Flat-bodied jug, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.69.1896.



Figure 10. Attic red-figure jug of special shape. Paris, Louvre G 68 (MNB 3562).

to the earlier part of the third century B.C. Other examples include Naples (no number), *CVA* 2, pl. 11, 8; Naples 80972 (*sic*), *CVA* 3, pl. 68, 6; Karlsruhe B 163, *CVA* 2, pl. 82, 13 (taller than most); and Warsaw 140358, *CVA* 6, pl. 24, 3.

13. Naples 80947, *CVA* 3, pl. 71, 9. Note that the lekythos mouth on the box-bodied Sèvres 129, *CVA*, pl. 48, 13 seems to be alien, but compare the red-figure Como C.75, *CVA* 1, pl. 13, 3a–b. One does, of course, find the occasional beak-spout on the body of a squat lekythos, as London WT 146, *CVA* 1, pl. 5 (41), 17, a variant which also occurs in Attic red-figure and black glaze, although there the body is rather that of the shape II oinochoe: for example, Naples 3122, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 689, 258, Bowdoin Painter; *AM* 90 (1975), pl. 28, 3–4; Leningrad 863, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1167, 109, Painter of Munich 2335; *AM* 90 (1975), pl. 28, 2; black, London 67.5–8.1100.

14. Note, for example, the use of the *zuppiera*, the experiments with bell-kraters (see J. R. Green, “Ears of Corn and Other Offerings,” in A. Cambitoglou, ed., *Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall* [Sydney, 1979], 81; *Art of S. Italy*, no. 123), and oddities such as the krater in Sotheby (London) *Sale Catalogue*, December 9, 1974, lot 123 (now MuM

and bodies of these vessels interrelate and are almost freely interchangeable. There is even an example of a flanged box-body with a bottle mouth.<sup>13</sup> This interchangeability is typical of Gnathia, with its delight in a variety of small shapes and its liking for experiment in shapes.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, several of these shapes have a considerable history, and where beak-spouted vessels are concerned, it is always worth considering an ancestry in metal.<sup>15</sup> The difficulty lies in demonstrating a consistent tradition. For example, there is a squat, broad-based vessel with a long, narrow neck and trefoil mouth in Corinthian Geometric, Proto-Corinthian, and so-called Argive monochrome.<sup>16</sup> To judge by its shape, it is surely more likely to be an oil-vessel than an oinochoe. It then seems to disappear from the pottery repertoire, but in later fifth- and early fourth-century Attic red-figure, there is what appears to be a refined version (as one would expect in Attic red-figure).<sup>17</sup> It has a beaked spout, and so one may suspect that something of the sort had been current in metal—a bronze example in Amsterdam cannot be far from these in date.<sup>18</sup> The Amsterdam version is said to be from near Corinth, and Corinth is often a source for Apulian shapes.

These precedents are probably enough to account for the flat-bodied epichysis, and there is no difficulty in supposing that an enterprising potter could substitute the mouth of a lekythos, given the identity of function, or revert to the trefoil mouth of the pottery tradition for the flat juglets. It is possible that the round-bodied type of the Getty vase derived from the refined and revised versions of Attic red-figure, but its close parallelism with the bottle in shape development in the later fourth century suggests that the bottle may have been primary and the beak-spout substituted by assimilation from the other types of epichysis.<sup>19</sup> The bottle also appears in bronze in the later fourth century, for example at Derveni, a fact which might also sup-

*Auktion* 63 [1983], no. 74, pl. 30), the Leningrad krater illustrated in L. Forti, *RendNap* 32 (1957), pl. 1, *Ceramica di Gnathia*, pl. 24a, or the Richmond askos, *Art of S. Italy*, no. 126.

15. See principally D. K. Hill, “The Long-Beaked Bronze Jug in Greek Lands,” *AJA* 66 (1962), 57–63, especially 62; also J. R. Green, *BICS* 19 (1972), 8–9.

16. J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968), 95ff. It also occurs in Attic Early Geometric when the lekythos of Proto-Geometric disappears.

17. Brussels R379, *CVA* 2, III I d, pl. 11, 1, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1132, 181, Washing Painter; Leiden 1922/4.3, *BICS* 19 (1972), pl. 3d.

18. Amsterdam 3367, *AJA* 66 (1962), pl. 16, 10; *BICS* 19 (1972), pl. 3b–c; I. Kouleiman-Vokotopoulou, *Chalkai Korinthiourgeis Prochoi* (Athens, 1975), pl. 34f; note also *ibid.*, pls. 32a, 32d, 35b, and fig. 23.

19. One would be hard put, though, to demonstrate the chronological primacy of either from the remaining evidence.

20. From Derveni, *ADelt* 18 (1963), pl. 227b, and *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia* (Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike, n.d.), no. 169; from Poteidaia, *ADelt* 21 (1966), pl. 361d, and *Treasures of Ancient Mace-*



port the idea of the bottle's being the primary shape.<sup>20</sup>

In this context it is perhaps worth noting that the question of the origin of the standard epichysis remains unresolved. Weight of numbers (rather than chronological considerations) might suggest it was invented in Apulia. Apulian versions have been found in Corinth, and local (and possibly Attic) versions have been found at Olynthos.<sup>21</sup> How the Apulians could have come to invent or adopt it is unclear. Beazley toyed with the idea that "in origin, the epichysis is probably a compound shape; an imitation of a squat oinochoe standing in a concave-sided dish."<sup>22</sup> The body of the vase in fact resembles most closely what is known for Attica as the pyxis type C. This type of pyxis was current in Athens during the later part of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century B.C., and it was made also in Apulian black glaze in a slightly different version. Pyxides were, of course, toilet-boxes, and this similarity of purpose may have made the idea of placing an epichysis mouth and neck on top more attractive. But this may not be the whole answer. Among late fifth-century Attic and Corinthian wares there exist occasional examples of a small angular jug like that in figure 10.<sup>23</sup> The small size, the elongated trefoil mouth, and the long neck suggest its possible function as an oil-vessel. The rarity of the shape in pottery, together with parallel manufacture in both Athens and Corinth and aspects of the shape itself such as the high-arching handle, the overall form, and the decoration of the shoulder, all suggest a possible prototype in metal, of which these examples are reduced terracotta versions.<sup>24</sup> It is quite possible, therefore, that the idea for the standard "Apulian" epichysis with flanged box-body originated with a metalworker who was, in fact, modifying an existing type.<sup>25</sup>

To return to the Getty vase, on the front is a boy about to wrestle with a young Pan (fig. 4a). The boy is painted

in red-brown with fine lines of white over for the details. His hair was golden. White was used for his eye, with black lids and eyebrow, and black for his mouth. The Pan is mostly in white, with gold for the hair on his head and on his legs as well as for his tail; his horns are red-brown. White, now faded, was used for the groundlines. On the ground between the figures' legs rests a heap of red drapery, a wreath above it, and, above that, a rosette. In the field above is a red sash, its ends reaching down into the area between the figures' heads; just above its top is a rosette. The scene is framed on each side by floral-work with spiral tendrils, fringed leaves, and palmette flowers. A small bird flies out of the floral-work on the right.

The scene has charm and humor. The boy seems determined; he sets his feet firmly and clenches his fist. The young Pan is more lithe and offers a less aggressive, even good-humored, warning with his left hand. They may or may not come to blows: we are left to interpret the result as we will. But whether they fight or not, the young Pan will outsmart the slower boy. The floral-work to either side emphasizes the rustic setting. Even the bird takes a lively interest.

Pans belong in the countryside. Often, and especially in South Italian vase-painting, they are almost substitutes for satyrs, whether in their relationship to Dionysos, in their mischievous quality, or in their capacity as friends of man.<sup>26</sup> A recently published bell-krater in Benevento has a picture of a young man washing at a laver, seemingly a little surprised at the appearance of a young Pan pouring more water into the basin.<sup>27</sup> They were always present in more remote places (as the young herdsman on the Pan Painter's name vase discovered), and one was never sure how they would react at a chance meeting. If the setting is the countryside, the time of day is clear: it is midday, that special time in summer in the islands, Sicily, and southern

donia, no. 347. Also M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts* (Greenwich, Conn., 1971), no. 450; A. Andriomenou, *BCH* 99 (1975), 571, no. 11, fig. 40.

21. Green, in *Studies in Honor of Arthur Dale Trendall* (supra, note 14), 81 and nn. 5–6; I. McPhee, *BSA* 76 (1981), 304.

22. J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947), 156.

23. Paris, Louvre G 68 (MNB 3562), *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1357, 1, Rayet Painter, with another in the Noble collection; see also *Para*, 479, 44 bis. For Corinthian, see for example, H. Payne, *NC*, 336, fig. 191.

24. For a representation of a larger version in what must be metal, see Munich 2455, *CVA* 2, pl. 86, 9–10, by the Pan Painter. In the context, it must be used for wine.

Where oinochoai are concerned, high-arching handles usually imply metal. For example, the shape II oinochoe usually has a low handle in clay, a high handle in metal, and this is sometimes imitated in clay. For an excellent treatment of metal oinochoai, see now T. Weber, *Bronzekannen*. *Archäologische Studien*, 5 (Frankfurt, 1983).

25. To speculate further, the metalworker could have been either Corinthian or Tarentine, both of them renowned centers for metal-

working. It is also conceivable that the Olynthian and possibly Attic examples derive independently from (Corinthian?) metal rather than Apulian clay. The Greek examples have wider neck and mouth without the distinct channel in the spout. *Olynthus*, vol. 5, pl. 60:92 has a distinct foot; compare the metal version mentioned supra, note 24, or for that matter some of the pyxides. On the importance of Corinth for beak-spouted jugs, see Vokotopoulou (supra, note 18), and for metal olpai, see T. Weber, *AA* 1983, 187–198.

26. On Pan in South Italian vase-painting, see K. Schauenburg, *RömMitt* 69 (1962), 27–42, *RömMitt* 88 (1981), 108–110, *AA*, 1981, 474, 483–486; for broader studies, see R. Herbig, *Pan: der griechische Bocksgott* (Frankfurt am Main, 1949); P. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan* (Rome, 1979), and H. Walter, *Pans Wiederkehr* (Munich, 1980). On the satyr as a friend of man, see J.-P. Descœudres "Ἡδίστος Δαίμων," *Antichthon* 15 (1981), 8–14.

27. From Caudium, tomb 111, *AA* 1981, 481, fig. 27; E. Galasso, *Tra i Sanniti in terra beneventana*, ex. cat. (Museo del Sannio, 1983), 75, fig. 71a.

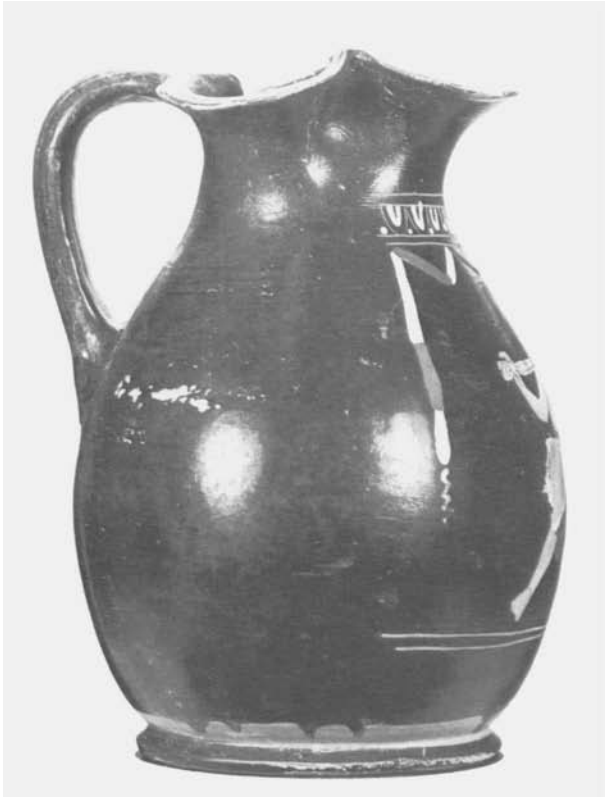


Figure 11a. Oinochoe. Sydney, Nicholson Museum 54.06.



Figure 11b. Front of figure 11a.



Figure 12a. Squat lekythos. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.446.



Figure 12b. Front of lekythos, figure 12a.

Italy, when the heat shimmers, the air is still, the silence is oppressive, almost frightening:

οὐ θέμις, ὦ ποιμήν, τὸ μεσαμβρινὸν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν  
συρίσδεν. τὸν Πᾶνα δεδοίκαμες. ἦ γὰρ ἀπ' ἄγρας  
τανίκα κεκμακῶς ἀμπαύεται. ἔστι δὲ πικρός,  
καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ δριμύτια χολὰ ποτὶ ῥινὶ κάθηται.<sup>28</sup>

That is when a boy might find a Pan, and if he is stupid, challenge him before he is fully awake.

The figure drawing, the use of color, and the baggy form of the epichysis all suggest a relatively early date for this piece, certainly the third quarter of the fourth century and most likely the earlier part of it. The decoration seems to be by the same hand as an oinochoe in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney (figs. 11a–b), with a young partygoer carrying his torch and situla.<sup>29</sup> The drawing of the boy's eye and mouth is particularly similar. The Sydney vase also gives a good idea of the original appearance of the boy's hair on the epichysis. Both boys also have white over the brown of the skin, on the Sydney vase to outline the right breast, on the Getty vase along the upper edge of the right arm. On the latter it is more clearly used as highlight, and the technique is shared with a number of early Gnathia vases which must belong in this stylistic area.<sup>30</sup> The red and yellow fillet or garland on the Sydney jug echoes the symposion,<sup>31</sup> and like the floral-work on the epichysis, is relevant to the scene. On later vases such as those in figures 21 or 28, there is usually only a horizontal, and it becomes mere pattern-band with little memory of the original function.

Datable to the 330's B.C. is a squat lekythos (figs. 12a–b).<sup>32</sup> An Eros stands, facing right, between framing floral patterns; his hair is bound in a kekryphalos, and he wears slippers on his feet, bangles on each arm, and a necklace. In his left hand is a mirror and in his right a dotted sash. Red is used for his far wing, yellow for the internal details of the figure and for the near wing. A yellow wash was applied over his slippers, the mirror, the right side of the sash, and over parts of the floral systems to give them depth. On the lower part of the neck is a zone of tongues

in white; on the shoulder, egg and dot (white) with a row of yellow dots below. Below the scene is another band of egg and dot. The vase is carefully made of a strong orange-buff (Tarentine) clay with a slight step or ridge at the junction of the neck and shoulder, and a three-step foot. The reserved zone at the base of the wall and the upper part of the foot is strongly reddened; so too is the inner face of the foot, but the underside of the floor is untreated.

The vase is typical of its period. The lines of the floral-work are now fairly uniform in their thickness; the flowers emerging between the tendrils are losing their care and individuality. Yet we still have fringed leaves, and the first tendril on the inner side does not yet recede into a tight spiral but turns back on itself only once. The pose of the figure, too, is very much of this phase: relaxed with his weight on one leg, exhibiting little real movement, but lacking the exaggerated indolence of some of the later figures.<sup>33</sup> Stylistic classification in this area is, however, a difficult problem, not least because of the apparent similarity of many of these erotes. The drawing here is not unlike the work of the Rose Painter, but it cannot be his. Another piece that bears comparison is a squat lekythos in the British Museum with an Eros in a very similar pose, attending to a kottabos-stand,<sup>34</sup> but again the details of body and florals show the hand is not the same. Much closer is a squat lekythos in Taranto, not only in the pose (with the substitution of a phiale for the mirror and a wreath for the sash) but, more importantly, in the details of the anatomy, such as the drawing of the breast or the V-line at the navel.<sup>35</sup> The Taranto lekythos has framing plants of the earlier type, composed of small circles about incised lines. There is also a more general relationship to the work of the painter of two pelikai in Matera and another in Bari,<sup>36</sup> but for the moment it is difficult to define the place of our lekythos in a consistent workshop tradition.

A pelike in the Getty collection (fig. 13) has an Eros, facing left, holding an alabastron in his left hand and a phiale in his right.<sup>37</sup> The vase is made of a dull-colored clay, somewhat browner than the normal "Tarentine" orange-buff. It is a pelike of type 2, that is, with a molding

28. Theocritus I, 15ff. See A. S. F. Gow's excellent note *ad loc.* where he also refers to Norman Douglas, *Old Calabria*, chapter 40. There seem to be no grounds for relating our scene to the contest between Eros and Pan: see O. Bie, *JdI* 4 (1889), 129–137; B. Neutsch, *JdI* 70 (1955), 155–184; Borgeaud (supra, note 26), 113, with refs.

29. Inv. 54.06. Height: 14.4 cm; diameter: 9.8 cm. The vase has recently been cleaned and is illustrated here from a new photograph.

30. Especially close to the Sydney and Getty vases is the calyx-krater in Bonn with Eros pursuing a fawn, *Gnathia...Bonn*, pl. 1.

31. Compare the New York krater, *Art of S. Italy*, no. 118.

32. Malibu 86.AE.446. Height: 18.3 cm; diameter: 8 cm. *Bareiss Coll.*, 86, no. 243.

33. The figures of Early Gnathia are often active, but compare the

woman on the reverse of the Boston krater (fig. 3b). For slightly later versions, compare for example, M. Bernardini, *Vasi dello stile di Gnathia* (Museo Provinciale Castromediano; Bari, n.d.), pl. 30, 2 and especially pl. 30, 4.

34. London F 579, *CVA* 1, pl. 1 (37), 11; Forti, pl. 29b.

35. Taranto 52521.

36. Matera 10119, from Timmari tomb 23 (1911), Forti, pl. 19c; Matera 10118, from the same tomb (seated Eros with phiale and wreath); Bari 6697 (standing Eros with phiale and hoop). Also close to our lekythos is the bottle Taranto 54927 (Eros pursuing a bird).

37. Malibu 71.AE.211. Height: 23.4 cm; diameter: 10.4 cm. Published in *Art of S. Italy*, no. 124.

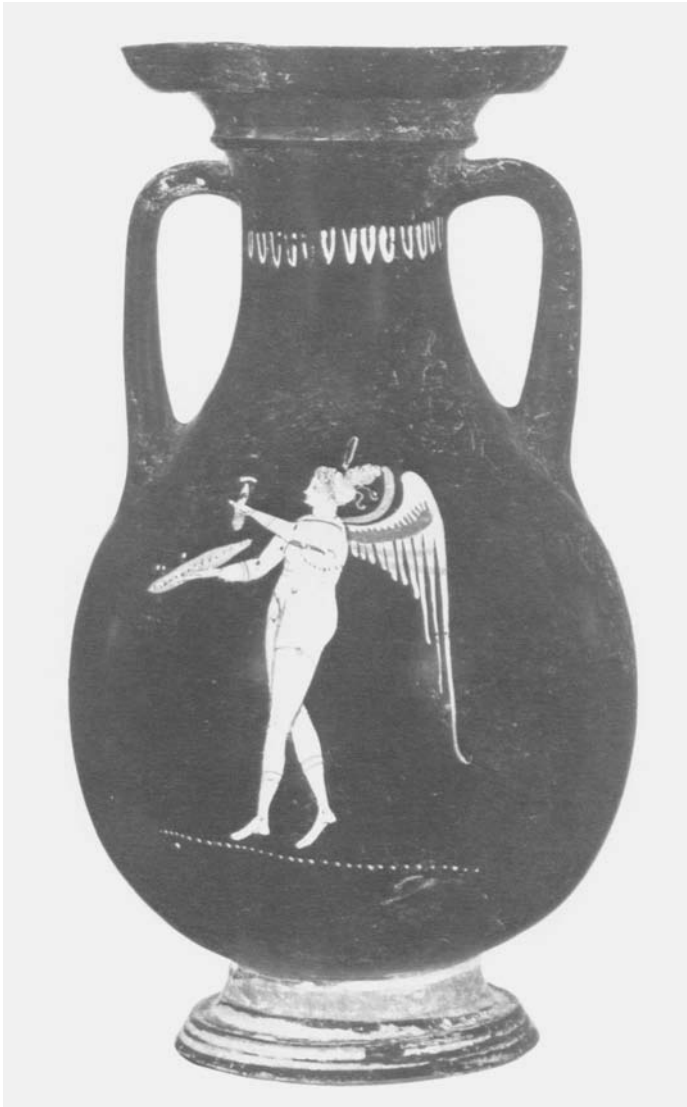


Figure 13. Pelike. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AE.211.

at the top of the neck and a foot that is separated off from the body. It is more elaborate than type 1, and as might be expected with Gnathia, is the more popular shape after the early period. The handles, as usual with this type, are of circular section and are remarkably thin toward the top. The figure is drawn in white with yellow internal details and yellow wash over the hair, the phiale, the lower part of the alabastron, the leading edge of the farther wing, and two bands on the lower part of the nearer wing; the dotted groundline also has yellow over. The decorative marks on the phiale, mostly chevrons, are done in a brown that seems to be a more concentrated version of the glaze used to pro-

duce the yellow. (There are groups of three white dots over the phiale.) The central part of the nearer wing is a brownish red. There are some traces of the preliminary sketch preserved, mostly behind the figure's right leg, as if the painter had been unsure of how to angle it. There is also a pair of lines coming down about halfway between the wing and the body; they come to a point at the bottom and must have been intended for the farther wing, the lower part of which was never drawn. Above the scene on the neck is a zone of egg-pattern in white without dots or incised outline. There is no decoration on the reverse. The reserved band on the upper part of the foot is strongly reddened.

To judge by its form, the pelike is probably to be dated circa 330–320 B.C. This seems to be the only shape which preserves for so long the early scheme of a figure placed simply against the black without frame or cluttering ornament. The most striking aspect of the drawing, however, is the contrast between the fine, delicate detail of the head and the broad, hasty, almost crude strokes for the body, not to mention the omission of the farther wing (despite the preliminary sketch). It is difficult to find good stylistic parallels despite the popularity of the subject matter. An unpublished fragmentary squat lekythos in the Lagioia collection, Bari, comes close. It has a seated Eros holding a wreath in his right hand and with his left supporting a harp on his knee. The drawing of the body shows many stylistic resemblances to the Getty vase, but the drawing of the head is more like that of the body in character, and so is difficult to compare with that of the Getty pelike.

We move now to a group of three joining fragments in the Getty Museum. They come from a bell-krater and seem to be made of the relatively orange "Tarentine" clay (fig. 14).<sup>38</sup> On the left is a plant with a red stem. An Eros moves right, beating a tambourine, toward a seated woman who supports a swan or goose on her raised left hand and with her right draws its beak toward her lips. The motif is clearer from a replica on a squat lekythos formerly in the collection of the Marquess of Northampton at Castle Ashby (fig. 15).<sup>39</sup> Her drapery has fallen down about her waist. It is orange-brown with a red border at the top. The lines of the folds seem to have been dry-drawn, although it is possible that they were done in white which has since vanished. She has bangles on both wrists, a simple necklace, and a string of beads running about her chest from her right shoulder. She wears a sakkos on her head. The Eros on the Getty fragments has bangles both on his wrists and on his lower legs, a necklace, and a string of beads about his chest with another on his right thigh. He has golden

38. Malibu 86.AE.445. Maximum height: 16.1 cm. *Bareiss Coll.*, 86, no. 242. The two holes at the top are modern, for the fragments to hang as a plaque.

39. *CVA*, pl. 57, 6–7, Christie's, London, July 2, 1980, lot 13; now New York, collection of Gregory Kallimanopoulos.

40. For the painter, see especially *BICS* 15 (1968), 40; *BICS* 18



Figure 14. Fragments of a bell-krater. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.445.

slippers on his feet. His hair is bound in a red kekryphalos, and red is also used for the base of the stephane toward the front of his head. The dots for the stephane are white, whereas the other details and the ribbons are yellow; the tambourine is similarly colored. His hair is golden brown. The farther wing is red with white details; the nearer wing, white with red along the center and yellow for the leading edge and over the pinion feathers. In the field between the two figures hangs a ball with red markings and yellow over the central cross. The red throughout is of a particularly deep shade, almost purple.

The drawing may be attributed to the Painter of Lecce 1075 at a fairly early stage of his career.<sup>40</sup> His figures do not

have the elegance or daintiness of those of the previous generation. They are heavier, just as his florals, or for that matter, his line, are heavier. Nonetheless, this phase of his work is good and careful, and he still uses an interesting variety of colors, a technique of which he is the last exponent in Middle Gnathia. Among the characteristics of his drawing that will survive, with some modification, throughout his career is the treatment of the eye: a fairly long, slightly curving line for the eyebrow, a shorter line parallel to it for the upper eyelid, the pupil as a short stroke attached to its end, and the lower lid as a short stroke below. Also typical is the reticulate patterning of the woman's sakkos.

(1971), 34 (both these isolating his later, more run-of-the-mill work); *Gnathia... Bonn*, 6–7 and n. 25. In the last I took the London and Bonn pelikai as his earliest work: the pieces illustrated here enlarge our concept

of his early phase.



Figure 15. Squat lekythos. Formerly Castle Ashby.

No one could doubt that the lekythos formerly in Castle Ashby (fig. 15) is by the same hand, as can also be safely said of a pair of bottles in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (figs. 16, 17).<sup>41</sup> Compare the stool of figure 16 with that of figure 15. Compare in figures 14 and 16 the fall of the drapery about the waist and the folds about the upper legs; compare, also, the border patterns of figures 14 and 16. Many of these features recur on his fine pelike in Bonn.<sup>42</sup> Another detail common to figures 14 to 17 is to have the farther leg of the seated figure extended forward, as if the



Figure 16. Bottle. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 1062.

foot rested on a rise in the ground.<sup>43</sup> The Eros of figure 17 also matches the Eros of figure 14 in many respects. It is some remove from the more mincing version on the relatively late pelike in Toronto (fig. 18);<sup>44</sup> nevertheless, the elements of the painter's style can be traced through, particularly with his name vase as an intermediary.<sup>45</sup> The Toronto Eros still wears a sakkos decorated in a way very like that of the woman of the Getty fragments.

The red-stemmed plant on the left of the Getty fragments (fig. 14) was doubtless repeated to the right of the

41. De Ridder 1062 and 1063. One should also add another bottle in the same collection, Forti, pl. 34d, and perhaps a fourth, Delepierre 60.

42. *Gnathia... Bonn*, pls. 8b, 9, 10.

43. The Eros of figure 17 sits on a bunch of dark red drapery (of much the same shade as on the Getty fragments) which is not clearly visible in the monochrome photograph; note also his farther wing.

44. Toronto 919.5.4, D. M. Robinson, C. G. Harcum, and J. H. Iliffe, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology* (Toronto, 1930), pl. 78, 505; A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich, 1953), pl. 53, 6; *BICS* 15 (1968), pl. 6a; J. W. Hayes, *Greek and Italian Black-Gloss Wares and Related Wares in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1984), no. 233.



Figure 17. Bottle. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 1063.



Figure 18. Pelike. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 919.5.4.

scene. The same motif is used to frame the figure of a woman at a laver on a squat lekythos in Leiden.<sup>45</sup> She holds an alabastron in her right hand and reaches back to fit a slipper on her left foot. Behind her is a pillar on which rest a heap of drapery and a mirror. Despite some wear to the surface, it is clearly by the Painter of Lecce 1075. Both the drawing and the shape of the lekythos show it must be later than one normally expects such plant work. A bell-krater in the Louvre showing a young satyr with a club or *lago-bolon* also has red-stemmed framing plants.<sup>47</sup> The figure is

badly preserved, but enough remains of the drawing of the eye to show that it too is most likely by the same painter, at a stage between the Getty fragments and the Leiden lekythos.

The motif of a woman kissing a swan or goose is an interesting one.<sup>48</sup> These birds are common on Apulian pottery and can wander among the participants in a range of scenes; they are, as well, favorite subjects for pursuit by erotes and by women. There seems to be no consistent distinction between the drawing of a swan and that of a goose

45. Lecce 1075: *CVA* 1, pl. 5, 1, 2 and 4; Bernardini (supra, note 33), pl. 30, 1–3; Forti, pl. 30c.

46. Leiden BN 1, C. W. Scheurleer, *Grieksche Ceramiek* (Rotterdam, 1936), pl. 45, 129.

47. Paris, Louvre K 605 bis (ED 150), Forti, pl. 24c (shown in mirror image). The figure is probably a young satyr rather than a young Pan,

but see the references cited supra, note 26.

48. It recurs on the painter's pelike in Bonn (supra, note 42). Note also the miniature hydria, London F 563, *CVA* 1, pl. 1 (37), 12, or the squat lekythos, Taranto 11002. On the bottle in the Cabinet des Médailles, Delepierre 60 (see note 41), the bird seems to kiss the lips of a female head, a theme which recurs in later Gnathia.



Figure 19a. Skyphoid krater. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.189.

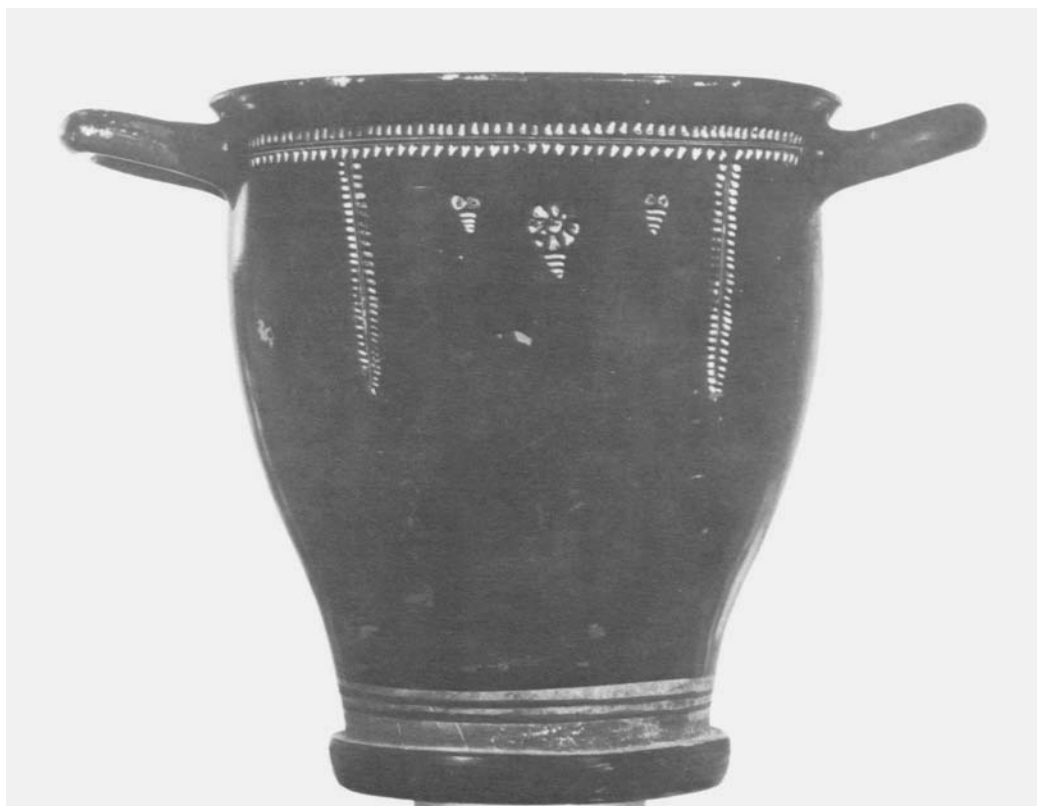


Figure 19b. Back of skyphoid krater, figure 19a.



except for size. The swan was, of course, associated with Aphrodite and had a prominent place in mythology.<sup>49</sup> The Greeks were fond of keeping smaller birds as pets, among them geese, and any creature kept as a pet could also be given as a love-gift.<sup>50</sup> Thus, on Apulian pottery, one sees these birds not only attracting the attention of young women<sup>51</sup> but also being held by a young woman in the company of a young man and an Eros<sup>52</sup>: a pet may have a particular sentimental value. When an Eros pursues a goose or any other bird, he may be doing it in imitation of human behavior: humans do it often enough in vase-painting, and apparently in life as well, if the story related by Plato—of the Macedonian prince who had been throttled and thrown down a well but was said by his murderer to have fallen down the well accidentally in pursuit of a goose—was to have any degree of verisimilitude.<sup>53</sup> So too erotes trap birds and shoot arrows at them,<sup>54</sup> or they may pursue them as potential love-gifts, either in their function as erotes or because the bird itself is an erotic symbol which is given its most explicit expression in the phallos-bird or the winged phallos.<sup>55</sup> But for the ladies on the Getty and Castle Ashby pieces (figs. 14, 15), we may more modestly interpret the geese as favorite pets, and in view of the Eros, as having some sentimental value.

Another piece to be connected with the Painter of Lecce 1075, and quite likely by him, is the Getty's skyphoid krater (figs. 19a–b).<sup>56</sup> In shape, the vase may be described as a very large skyphos of Attic type, a type not otherwise popular in Apulian Gnathia where for the smaller standard drinking vessel the lighter Corinthian type (kotyle) was normally preferred. The clay is of the pale, southern variety. The vase is decorated in a scheme usual for open vessels of this kind, a pi-shaped arrangement enclosing a central motif. On side A, at the lip, are three pattern-bands separated by double incised lines: egg and dot in white with incised outline; red and yellow zigzag fillet with a filling of groups of three white dots; and then a line of yellow dots.

49. See recently, K. Schauenburg, *JdI* 87 (1972), 258ff.; W. Martini in Ursula Höckmann and Artje Krug, eds., *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz, 1977), 223–229; I. Krauskopf, *Forschungen und Funde: Festschrift Bernard Neutsch* (Innsbruck, 1980), 243–248.

50. Aristophanes specifically mentions the goose among birds used as love-gifts at *Birds* 707. For the dove as a love-gift to a girl, see Theocritus V, 132–133:

οὐκ ἔραμι Ἀλκίππας, ὅτι με πρῶν οὐκ ἐφίλησε  
τῶν ὥτων καθελοῦσ' ὅκα οἱ τὰν φάσσαν ἔδωκα.

See also *ibid.*, 96–97.

51. As, for example, *Art of S. Italy*, no. 127.

52. As *Art of S. Italy*, no. 76; see also our painter's name vase (*supra*, note 45) where the youth still holds the bird by a string.

53. Plato, *Gorgias* 471C.

54. For erotes with bird-traps, see the Gnathia squat lekythoi: Philadelphia L-64-19, *AA*, 1981, 346, fig. 3, *CVA* 1, forthcoming; Paris, Louvre K 615, K. Schauenburg, *Jagddarstellungen in der griechischen Vasen-*

From this line in the central part hang five pendants drawn as groups of three diminishing lines. The central motif, in white with yellow details, is a swan standing on a stele, facing left, its wings outstretched and its head turned back. The ground is shown as a double row of dots from which spring two yellow branches flanking the stele. In the field to either side of the swan are yellow rosettes with triangular petals and white diminishing lines under them. This central scene is framed on each side by a descending spray with yellow leaves on the inner side, white leaves on the outer, about a double incised stem, and then ivy descenders. The ivy is of an individual type with alternating red and yellow leaves on incised stems and with white dot-fruit about red centers. A fragment of the lip and upper wall has been broken and rejoined on the upper left. There is some slight retouching of the egg pattern at the break, and the zigzag fillet is worn in this area.

The reverse has a simple pi-shaped arrangement of sprays (on double incised lines, the upper leaves of the horizontal and the inner leaves of the descenders are yellow) framing rosette and circle pendants. The circles and the rosette are yellow; the diminishing lines, white. The lower wall is reserved and decorated with two lines of black; the clay is strongly reddened. The inner face of the foot is black; on the underside of the floor is a broad black circle which once had a narrower one around it (now worn away). The central area and the strip between the two circles is reddened, and beyond the circles are the arms of a red cross with swastika-like daubs on their ends.

The red and gold ivy descenders framing the scene on side A are distinctive and recur only on a restricted number of vases. These include a very fine but worn askos in London, on which they frame a swan preening its feathers,<sup>57</sup> and a bell-krater in Vienna (fig. 20).<sup>58</sup> On the Vienna vase the ivy is horizontal; below, birds fly down to a basin which is filled with water from a lion-head spout just below the ivy. Not only is the style of the ivy the same, but so too is the

*malerei* (Hamburg, 1969), pl. 24. For erotes shooting, see e.g., Naples Stg. 508, *CVA* 3, pl. 70.3, or Taranto 52574, Forti, 33 n. 17. A bird caught in a trap forms part of the decoration on the round-bodied epichysis Yale 1913.281.

55. Thus, note the comic actor in pursuit of a winged phallos, mimicking normal human behavior, on the Harvard fragment, A. D. Trendall, *Phryx Vases*, 2d ed., no. 154, pl. 4g, and *Art of S. Italy*, no. 121. On this whole question, see most recently my comments in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 2 (1985), 111. Also H. Hoffmann, *Sexual and Asexual Pursuit* (London, 1977). At the beginning of the sequence, we may also remember how Penelope's pet geese (*Odyssey* xix, 535ff.) were killed by an eagle in her dream and then interpreted as symbolizing the suitors who were to be killed the next day by Odysseus.

56. Malibu 79.AE.189. Height: 30.1 cm.

57. London F 585, *CVA* 1, pl. 5 (41), 19.

58. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 121.



Figure 20. Bell-krater. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 121.

style of other details such as the descending sprays, the rosettes with triangular petals and a ring in the center (rather than the usual solid circle), the groups of three small diminishing lines, and the birds' wings with the curving, fanlike spread of the pinion feathers. The artist is the same.<sup>59</sup>

A problem in attributing Gnathia vases is the difficulty of showing links between one category of decorative scheme and another, between vases that rely on figures, florals, vines, or ivy. The connection with the Painter of Lecce 1075, who is known mainly for or through his drawing of figures and of heads, can only be made through subsidiary motifs. Thus his characteristic and relatively late pelike in Toronto (fig. 18) has the same rosettes and the same groups of small diminishing lines under the upper border. Notice now that this same rosette is found decorating the tympanon held by the Eros on the Getty fragments (fig. 14). The Vienna bell-krater (fig. 20) provides a link with his birds, as does the swan of

the skyphoid krater (fig. 19a).

The second skyphoid krater from the Getty collection (figs. 21a–b) is a little smaller.<sup>60</sup> It is made of a slightly coarse, pale clay and on the front has a standard scheme. At the lip, it has bands of egg-pattern (white), red and yellow fillet, and then yellow dots bordered by incised lines. Below this is a vine frame enclosing a swan. The vine has a red stem, and on the horizontal, the right sides of the leaves and grape bunches are washed over to make them yellow, as are the lower sides on the verticals. The swan stands left, shaking its wings and preening its breast feathers. The details and the back of the neck are in yellow. On the ground to the left is a plant; in the field, a yellow sash and a rosette. The reverse simply has eggs, then yellow dots at the lip, and then two white ivy descenders framing a rosette with yellow center.

The vase may be attributed to the relatively early stages of the Laurel Spray Group as it breaks away from the circle of the Rose Painter. It is typical of this Group, and of the Knudsen Group which succeeds it, to draw the egg-pattern without dots or incised outlines. What becomes more and more typical is to put the horizontal of the vine frame hard up against the lip decoration, without leaves or tendrils on the upper side of the stem.<sup>61</sup> The Getty vase is an unusually careful piece: the painters in the Laurel Spray Group tended to prefer faster production of standardized schemes. Nonetheless it has the characteristic heavy grape bunches and thickly drawn leaves.

Another careful and in many ways similar piece is a kotyle in the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha (fig. 22).<sup>62</sup> It is still close to the Rose Painter. Still another useful comparison is a kyathos in Würzburg (fig. 23).<sup>63</sup> Here the grapes are just as blobby as on the Getty vase, and the leaves seem to be drawn in the same style. On the neck, the Würzburg vase has the distinctive laurel spray that gives the group its name and that leads one on to a further series which uses the spray as a principal motif.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, the kyathos is short-lived as a shape in Gnathia pottery and seems virtually confined to this group.<sup>65</sup>

The nestoris in the Getty Museum (fig. 24) is a piece

59. One may add another skyphoid krater recently on the Rome market on which the same descenders are used to frame a siren who holds a bird-trap; see too the bell-krater Oxford 1939.72, R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London, 1960), pl. 56b (for the bird). There is also a series of vases decorated simply with this sort of ivy but with white rather than red centers for the fruit. On present evidence one cannot say if they are by the Painter of Lecce 1075.

60. Malibu 79.AE.188. Height: 25.4 cm.

61. It is standard on the vine-kotylai of the Knudsen Group. One example among many: *Gnathia...Bonn*, pl. 16b. For skyphoid kraters of that Group, see *StEtr* 42 (1974), pl. 94b (two examples) or Sotheby's, London, July 10, 1972, lot 175, pl. 46.

62. Omaha 1951.567. I owe my knowledge of this piece to Ann Stei-

ner, who is to publish the pottery in the Joslyn Museum's collection. The reverse is much more hasty.

63. E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich, 1932), pl. 241, no. 839, whence the illustration here. The vase was damaged in World War II and restored on the basis of Langlotz' illustration. I am grateful to Guntram Beckel for much help on this piece. Also of much the same stage are the bell-kraters Warsaw 198132, *CVA* 6, pl. 15, 4–5, and Compiègne 1007, *CVA*, pl. 24, 16 and 18. The latter has the same sort of laurel spray by the handles on the reverse.

64. Cf. *Gnathia...Bonn*, pl. 8a, and the pieces associated with it in the text.

65. Among published examples, note, in descending chronological order, *CVA* Verona 1, pl. 20, 3; *CVA* Naples 3, pl. 64, 9; *CVA* Copen-



Figure 21a. Skyphoid krater. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.188.



Figure 21b. Back of skyphoid krater, figure 21a.



Figure 22. Kotyle. Omaha, Joslyn Art Museum, gift of Mrs. W. H. Quigley, 1951.567.



Figure 23. Kyathos. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L. 839. Photo: After Langlotz (1932).

without close parallel.<sup>66</sup> It is made of a pale buff clay and has the characteristic high-arching strap handles with shieldlike discs attached front and back at their highest point and at the level of the lip. The vase is elaborately finished. Not only is the body ribbed from shoulder to base but the horizontal handles have double ridges on their outer faces and the foot has both vertical and horizontal grooving. The ribbing on the body was, as usual, planned before the application of the handles. While the vase was still on the wheel, shallow preliminary grooves were made to define the upper and lower limits for the ribs, which run all around the vase. The ribbing itself was, of course, done after the application of the handles. The vase is completely coated in glaze. The overpainted decoration is confined to the discs and shoulder and is the same on each side: on the discs is a star motif with dots on the rim; on the shoulder is ivy with dot-fruit. The decoration is all done in white, washed over to make it yellow.

It is worth comparing this vase with a nestoris by the Varrese Painter in a private collection in Kiel (fig. 25),<sup>67</sup> which is to be dated circa 350–340 B.C. The Getty piece is clearly later, as is evident both from the more ovoid body and especially from the taller foot. The ribbing, too, extends over a greater part of the body and is more quickly executed. All this, together with the style of the ivy on the shoulder (widely spaced with a painted stem and all in monochrome yellow), suggests a date at the end of the fourth century or even in the early third.

The Varrese Painter's vase shows influences from metal, notably the careful ribbing, the grooved side-handles, the relief heads on the discs, the lion-head protomai where the vertical handles meet the lip, and the impressed egg-pattern on the lip. The Getty vase, though less elaborate, continues this tradition, even in the shieldlike appearance of the discs. The relationship between metalware and pottery is rarely a simple one.<sup>68</sup> Direct copies from one to the other sometimes occur, but not infrequently pottery shapes can develop a metallicizing tradition of their own, without specific reference back to individual metal versions, just as pottery shapes can be taken over into metal and have an

hagen 7, pl. 276, 3; Sotheby's, London, February 23, 1976, lot 293; Dublin, University College (ex Hope 342), *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 73 (1973), 455, no. 1144; Vlaardingen, private collection, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, *Klassieke Kunst uit Particulier Bezit* ex. cat. (Leiden, 1975), no. 595, fig. 237. For similar vines at the same stage, see the oinochoe CVA Naples 3, pl. 65, 11; the kotylai CVA Bologna 3, pl. 2, 15; Toronto 957.153.16, Hayes (supra, note 44), no. 257 (slightly later and less careful), CVA Naples 3, pl. 73, 10, H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien aus der Sammlung Jatta in Ruvo* (Tübingen, 1966), pl. 149, K 97–98, and many unpublished kotylai in Ruvo.

66. Malibu 78.AE.320, presented by R. Collins. Height (at lip): 45.5 cm; diameter: 26.3 cm. Christie's, London, July 12, 1977, lot 141, pl. 31; Schneider-Herrmann, 37–38, fig. 95; *Art of S. Italy*, 274, no. 134.



Figure 24. Nestoris. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.320.



Figure 25. Apulian red-figure nestoris. Germany, private collection.

independent life even after the shape has disappeared from pottery and the pottery versions have developed in a different direction. The scene on the name vase of the Maplewood Painter is useful here (fig. 26).<sup>69</sup> The nestoris carried by the woman in the center of the scene seems intended as metal: note the ribbing of the body, the elaborate foot, and the use of white (washed yellow) for the handles. The scene is clearly one of welcome for victorious native warriors. Although Athenian vase-painters often showed metal rather than clay vessels in more elevated contexts, Apulians normally seem to have been more literal in this respect, and when we see a metal vessel we may assume it really is metal. A. D. Trendall has pointed out that the earliest extant nes-

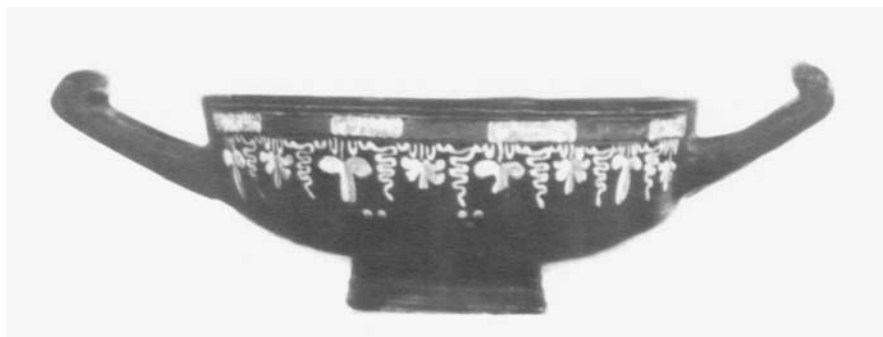
67. *RVAp*, vol. 1, 343, no. 34; K. Schauenburg, *JdI* 89 (1974), 137–186 (with useful notes on nestorides in general); W. Hornbostel, ed., *Kunst der Antike. Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz* (Mainz, 1977), 362–363, no. 311; Schneider-Herrmann, 63, no. 5, fig. 73.

68. See the fundamental article by Dorothy Kent Hill, “The Technique of Greek Metal Vases and Its Bearing on Vase Forms in Metal and Pottery,” *AJA* 51 (1947), 248–256.

69. Tampa Museum, Joseph Veach Noble collection of classical antiquities. *RVAp*, vol. 1, 249, no. 187, pl. 82, 1; *JdI* 89 (1974), 150, fig. 15; Schneider-Herrmann, fig. 101; *Art of S. Italy*, 120–121, no. 42 (with further references). Middle of the fourth century B.C. See also the very similar pair, *RVAp* suppl. 1 (*BICS* suppl. 42, 1983), pl. 5.



Figure 26. Apulian red-figure column-krater. Joseph Veach Noble collection of classical antiquities, Tampa Museum.



Figures 27a–b. Cup. Above: profile; below: interior. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.50.

torides in Apulian red-figure ware date to the middle of the fourth century, whereas they are depicted in red-figure from as early as the Sisyphus Painter in the later fifth century.<sup>70</sup> Some of the examples depicted are small and arguably represent the native Messapian *trozzella*, but others are larger and should, like the one on the Maplewood vase, be metal. It is therefore quite possible that the nestoris came into the repertoire of the Apulian Greek potter from metal. There may be a less direct link with their Lucanian coun-

terparts than has been supposed, and these vases certainly appear at a time when the Greek potters and painters of Apulia were making closer contact with the native populations.<sup>71</sup>

The Getty vase is the only known true Gnathia nestoris. There are a few *trozzelle* with overpainted decoration,<sup>72</sup> but they stand outside the Gnathia tradition proper, even though the decoration on some of them imitates Gnathia in technique and in some of the motifs employed. The

70. A. D. Trendall, *Gli indigeni nella pittura italiota* (Taranto, 1971), 1ff., and *Magna Graecia*, vol. 6, no. 9/10 (1971), 14ff. The Sisyphus Painter vase: London F 174, *RVAp* vol. 1, 16 no. 55 (with earlier references); Schneider-Herrmann, fig. 97.

71. See, for example, my comments in *Art of S. Italy*, 288–292.

72. Collected by Schneider-Herrmann, 27.

73. *Art of S. Italy*, 256.

74. Malibu 76.AE.50. Height: 5.3 cm; diameter (at lip): 10.2 cm.

75. For the shape, compare in general terms *CVA* British Museum 7,

pl. 3 (478), 4a–b; *CVA* Gotha 2, pl. 90, 1–2; *CVA* Warsaw 6, pl. 22, 3–4; *CVA* Rennes, pl. 44, 5 and 7 (less close); Vienna IV 296 (unpublished but very close). All these are Campanian.

76. An exception, though very different in approach, is the series of small plates which have, in the center, an impressed rosette which is then used as an earring for a red-figure female head: e.g., Zurich 2686, *CVA* 1, pl. 48, 6–7; *RVAp* vol. 2, 776 no. 147 (Amphorae Group); Milan, collection “H. A.” 286, *RVAp* vol. 2, 668, no. 221, pl. 249, 7 (Chevron Group).

Getty vase is likely to have been an experiment, based on red-figure versions, but like other large vessels introduced or reintroduced at the same period, the shape was soon abandoned.<sup>73</sup>

The stemless cup (figs. 27a–b) is of somewhat abnormal form; it might almost be called a cup-skyphos, given the height of the lip in relation to its diameter,<sup>74</sup> although the handles of a cup-skyphos normally spring from a lower point on the bowl. The vase is intact but for a small fragment of the lip on side B, which has been restored. It is made of a pale brown clay, and before it was painted, the center of the inside was decorated with a scheme of six impressed palmettes linked by compass-drawn loops, all arranged about a square containing four palmettes. The latter have thinner, spikier leaves. The vase was then dipped in the glaze, but the underside was left unpainted; nor was it reddened. Within the lip is painted a band of laurel with dot-fruit. The central rib of each leaf is drawn in yellow, and the whole is coated with a yellow wash. On the outside, on sides A and B, there are, from the lip, two incised lines, a red and yellow band, another incised line, then a vine-pattern. Below that are two groups of three dots on side A but not on side B. The stems of the vine are washed yellow, as are the right sides of the grape bunches and leaves. The yellow here and on the band nearer the lip is a strong, deep shade; the red is fairly dull. The paint is quite thick and tends to flake off, almost as if it were modern, but it is not.

The cup is Campanian, as is evident from the clay, the shape, the impressed decoration, the style of the painted decoration, and the quality of the paint.<sup>75</sup> Apulian pottery rarely combines painted and impressed decoration,<sup>76</sup> and the style of the impressed decoration is purely Campanian even if ultimately derived from Athens. It is typical, for example, to have a square motif in the center. In Campania, however, impressed decoration is more often combined with the characteristic ivy on an incised stem,<sup>77</sup> and this is a tradition that, as pointed out elsewhere, leads ultimately to the Teano Class; but there are occasional examples with laurel or even with laurel and ivy combined.<sup>78</sup>

The Gnathia style was never developed at all fully in Campania.<sup>79</sup> The most common category found is ivy decoration such as has just been mentioned. It seems to have been borrowed from Apulia, perhaps northern Apulia,

77. For example, the Vienna and Gotha vases mentioned supra in note 75; also *CVA Gallatin*, pl. 64, 7, Naples Stg. 106, Amsterdam 1401.

78. On the link with Teano, see *Gnathia...Bonn*, 16, and *Art of S. Italy*, 258–259. For laurel with ivy about incised decoration on the stemless cup, see J. Dörig, ed., *Art antique. Collections privées de la Suisse romande* (Geneva and Mainz, 1975), no. 297.

79. For attempts to distinguish Campanian traits, see L. Forti, “Vasi del tipo ‘Gnathia’ provenienti da Pontecagnano,” *Apollo* 1 (1961), 89–98, and *La Ceramica di Gnathia*, 131ff.

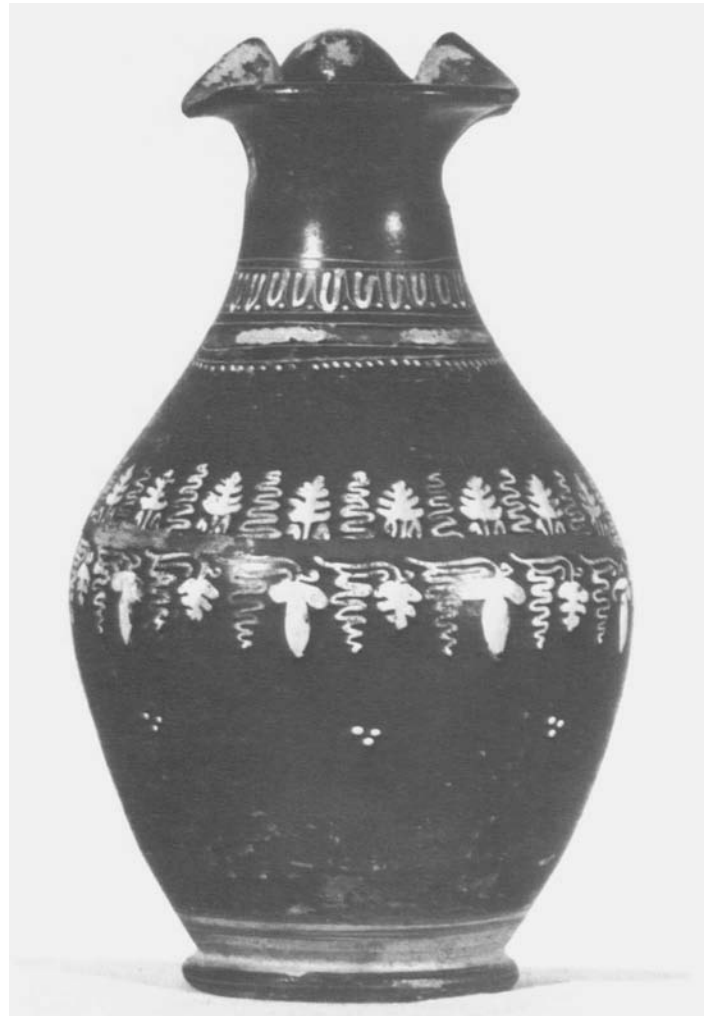


Figure 28. Oinochoe. The Auckland Museum 18515.



Figure 29. Kotyle. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria (on loan to the University of Melbourne), 175.



Figure 30. Fragment of a calyx-krater. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.431.

some time in the third quarter of the fourth century and to have lasted until the early third. Another category of overpainted ware has little or no relation to Apulian Gnathia. This is the series of skyphoi decorated with laurel and scroll motifs in applied white and red.<sup>80</sup> The use of vine-patterns, floral-work, female heads, or masks, however, seems never to have been adopted in any consistent way, and it is difficult to isolate any workshop traditions. The Getty cup in figure 27 borrows quite directly from the Apulian Sidewinder Group, of which two reasonably typical examples are given in figures 28 and 29.<sup>81</sup> The Sidewinder Group, which represents the vine-decorated vases of the Dunedin Group, is a large one and was produced over some length of time, but it must give a *terminus post quem* for the Getty cup of circa 325 B.C. at the earliest. The cup uses the groups of three dots on the lower wall, exaggerates the trilobate character of the grape bunches, and makes the leaves into inverted palmettes. More typical, perhaps, of its provincial quality is the way the red and yellow band is placed right up against the lip. Apulians were usually very conscious of the structure of the decoration in relation to the form of the vase; they saw these bands as

friezes and used egg and dot for the cornice.<sup>82</sup> But that may be pedantry when seen from the wild west.

#### ADDENDUM

Since these notes were written, the Museum has acquired two further pieces of Gnathia pottery. The first is the beautiful fragment (fig. 30) once in the collection of Karl Zinser, the court jeweler, in Stuttgart. It is well known from Bulle's publication.<sup>83</sup> As Bulle saw, the fragment is from a large calyx-krater, and, as always, one finds it difficult to improve on his description. We have the upper part of a woman facing right, supporting a lyre by its cross-piece with her right hand. It is quite likely that she is a Muse, and possible, given the pose, that she was seated. Her flesh is white, her hair red-brown, its waves drawn in a darker version of the same color. At the brows, temples, and neck much of the color has flaked away where it overlapped the white. Her hair is held by a broad headband in medium brown, which supports it at the back and carries a diadem on top; this band is folded over above the ears and is decorated with a row of dark dots at the front and with zigzags and rows of white dots along the edges. The diadem is also white. She wears a yellow-brown peplos, the paint of which has again flaked off where it lay over the white (principally by her right arm), and then a mantle, which comes over her left shoulder and up behind her neck. It is of a relatively pale shade of brown with the folds shown by darker lines and the decoration with groups of three white dots. The details, her earring, necklace, bracelet, and lyre are done in a golden brown. Remarkably, the gold is also used on the upper side of the forearm as shading to suggest roundness. All this is on a blue-black glaze of high quality. Bulle described the fabric with some care, and so far as I can make out, he was the first to observe the type: rough pale clay with a thick coating of a finer, more orange clay over it. This is the type I called III in my categorization of Gnathia fabrics.<sup>84</sup> For some reason, perhaps a shortage of the better material, potters in the area of Taranto adopted the custom of throwing larger vases in this coarser, pale clay and then dipping the product in a solution of the finer clay. The orange-buff both looked better (and more normal) and formed a more reliable foundation for the glaze. Small vases such as the epichysis (fig. 4), the squat lekythos (fig. 12), and even the bell-krater fragments (fig.

80. For example, from Cumae, *Mon.Ant* 23 (1913), pl. 109, 1 and 3; from Nola, M. Bonghi Jovino and R. Donceel, *La necropoli di Nola preromana* (Naples, 1969), pl. 11, A 3. The latter see them as an impoverished version of Saint-Valentin vases, probably under the influence of the Xenon Group.

81. Auckland 18515 and Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, on loan to the University of Melbourne, Classics Department 175. On the Sidewinder Group in general, see *BICS* 15 (1968), 18 and *Gna-*

*thia*...Bonn, 9 and n. 35.

82. The one exception that comes to mind is the cup CVA Stuttgart, pl. 60, 6.

83. Malibu 83.AE.431. Height: 10.7 cm; width 11 cm. Bulle (supra, note 4), 22, pl. 2 (color), whence Forti pl. 13b.

84. *AA*, 1977, 589–562.

85. *Art of S. Italy*, 262–263, no. 120, with references.

86. Naples 3249, from Ruvo. C. Watzinger in *FR* iii, 367, pls. 179–





Figure 31a. Bell-krater, side A. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.15.



Figure 31b. Side B of bell-krater, figure 31a.

14) are made completely of this latter material, although with time even they came to be made of the pale clay and dipped.

Muses are not commonly shown on Gnathia pottery. There is a fine example on the name vase of the Painter of the Bowdoin Muse, where she stands leaning against a rock, holding pipes in her hand.<sup>85</sup> Closer in many ways is the seated Muse with lyre on the well-known lid in Naples; she even has similar headgear.<sup>86</sup> Forti was tempted to associate it with the Zinser fragment in style, but, for the moment at least, the attribution does not carry complete conviction, even if the piece clearly belongs to the circle of early painters.

The Museum's other recent acquisition is a fascinating bell-krater (figs. 31a–c) that has been published by Faya Causey Frel.<sup>87</sup> The shape is of that special type (B), apparently borrowed from Corinth, that is found only in the earlier years of Gnathia production.<sup>88</sup> As is normal for the type, the vertical face of the foot has a groove by its upper edge; the strap handles are ridged and have protrusions (spurs) to either side. The vase is taller in appearance than

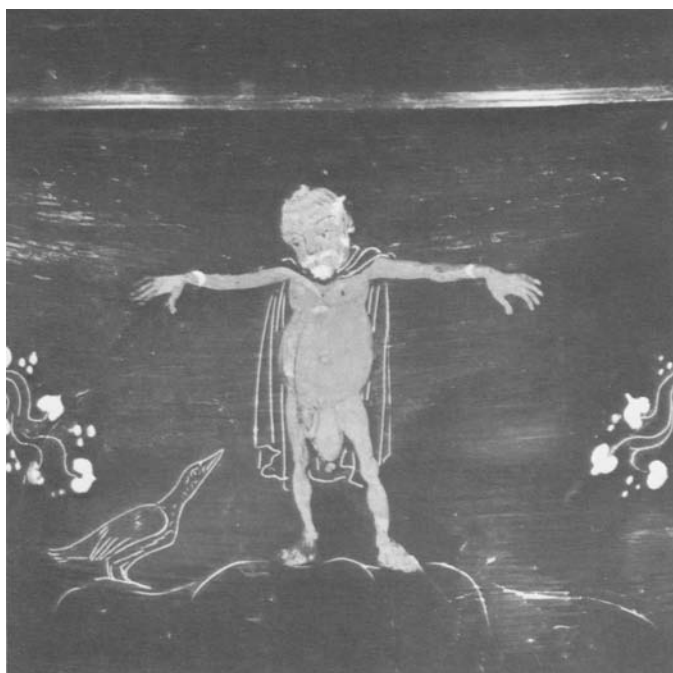


Figure 31c. Detail of side A of figure 31a.

180; J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, and F. Villard, *Classical Greek Art* (London, 1973), 312, fig. 362 (color); Forti pl. 9, and see her p. 46.

87. Malibu 82.AE.15. Height: 35 cm; maximum diameter: 39.5 cm. F. C. Frel, "Prometheus Parodied: A Gnathia Hilarotragedy." In *Studies in Honor of Leo Mildenberg*, edited by A. Houghton, S. Hurter, P. E. Mottahedeh, and J. A. Scott (Wetteren, 1984), 51–55, pl. 7.

88. See my comments in *Studies in Honor of A. D. Trendall*, edited by A. Camitoglou (Sydney, 1979), 81, and 87 n. 3 for a brief list of exam-

most other examples, but whether the shape sequence at this point (say about 360–350 B.C.) is from squat to tall or vice versa is difficult to say. Gnathia shapes in general were in a phase of organization and establishment. The stout to slender cycle was at its very beginning. The rim and upper wall at the back of the vase had been broken in antiquity and mended with lead clamps. The clay of the vase is like that of the Zinser fragment, a more orange coating over a pale core, and this is a very early example of the technique. The vase was completely covered with glaze except for the inner faces of the handles, the resting surface, and the underside, which were reserved and reddened. Much of the glaze has flaked away, especially from side B.

On side A, between sprays of ivy with incised stems that run down obliquely from the handles, stands the figure of Prometheus, his arms outstretched. He is bound to the rock and gazes down to his right at a bird that in turn contemplates him. He is drawn in orange-brown paint with white for his hair and beard as well as for the fetters on his wrists. Darker paint is used for the inner details, while the wound just below the breastbone is pink and the blood dark red. Incision was used for his cloak, the bird, and the ground-lines. There are also light incisions for the body hair (pubic, above the navel, and on the chest).<sup>89</sup> On side B (fig. 31b), two ivy sprays come in from the handles and almost meet in the center, but here the stems are painted, not incised, and there is no evidence of dot-fruit.

Faya Frel attributed the vase to the Konnakis Painter, probably rightly. It is certainly very close to him indeed. She also pointed out that the representation of this cruelly amusing parody must derive from the theater, or at least

from a tradition of representations based on theater. The figure does not wear theatrical costume, nor a mask, but the iconographic type of the figure clearly derives from the spectacle of the stage. Caricatures in South Italian vase-painting are not uncommon, especially in marginally theatrical contexts.<sup>90</sup> At the same time the figure, with its distended belly, enlarged genitalia, and emaciated limbs, seems to have all the symptoms of a classic case of schistosomiasis.<sup>91</sup> One might even wonder if the painter had based his depiction on observation of an actual sufferer. The disease seems to have been common enough in Egypt, but we have no other evidence for it in Apulia at this period. If the painter knew it, he may have thought of it as a foreign disease, and to a Greek, that may have made it more amusing. This attitude is surely part of the background in a cultural sense to the portrayal of caricature and grotesque in the sculptures and terracottas of Alexandria.<sup>92</sup> The advances made by the followers of Lysippos may have made it possible in an artistic sense, but the other essential ingredients were the Greek attitude to the physically deformed, their attitude toward Egyptians, and, of course, the closeness of contact in sufficient numbers in a setting such as Alexandria provided. The attitude of superiority implied by such representations is more likely to develop among a dominant group placed in close proximity to and possibly feeling uncomfortable with people different in physical appearance. One would therefore never claim that the Getty's Prometheus provided the fire for such a development, but it is a splendid example of Greek humor and acuteness of observation.

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ples. One may also note the piece in J. V. Noble's collection (*Art of S. Italy*, 264, no. 123), which seems to be by the same hand as Palermo 2254, and another in a Dutch private collection (*Klassieke Kunst uit particulier Bezit*, ex. cat. [Leiden, 1975], no. 592, fig. 238).

89. Frel (*supra*, note 87) gives a careful account of the evidence for preliminary sketch in the figure-work.

90. See Trendall (*supra*, note 4), 83.

91. See A. and E. Cockburn, *Mummies, Diseases and Ancient Cultures* (Cambridge, 1980), 3, 30, 71, 79, and 268. I am indebted to Maree Browne for this reference.

92. N. Himmelmann, *Alexandria und der Realismus in der griechischen Kunst* (Tübingen, 1983) is now fundamental. On these questions, see especially pp. 27ff. and 61ff. One looks forward to his treatment of earlier material.

# A Clusium Group Duck-Askos in Malibu

Mario A. Del Chiaro

A red-figured vase in the form of a duck recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum (figs. 1a–b)<sup>1</sup> conforms to the general type of Etruscan vase-painting assigned by John Beazley to his Clusium Group<sup>2</sup>—a Group that derives its name from a production center believed by C. Albizzati and Beazley early on to have been located in or around present-day Chiusi,<sup>3</sup> a city in ancient Etruria known in Roman times as Clusium. In recent years, the Clusium Group has been studied in depth by Maurizio Harari, who has considered the prickly question of two possible centers for the Group, namely, Chiusi and the not-too-distant Volterra.<sup>4</sup>

The identification *askos* is generally given to a flasklike vase bearing a handle and a deep body, normally wider than high, and possessing a spoutlike orifice for filling which is placed at or near the vessel's top. The Getty askos along with others in the shape of a duck are well suited for pouring liquids of a precious nature (such as scented oils). Of all the duck-askoi attributed to various Etruscan centers,<sup>5</sup> those of the Clusium Group are characterized by the following: a full, tapering body balanced on a low ring base (affecting a floating or swimming duck); a gracefully curved neck leading to a head disclosing a well-rounded eye in relief; a striated bill pierced by a small hole to permit limited emission of its precious content; a vertical filler spout accented by a flaring rim; and an arched handle which may project noticeably above or—as I believe originally was the case for the Getty askos—somewhat flattened

and about level with the rim of the filler spout (compare fig. 2 with figs. 3 and 5). When viewed frontally, such duck-askoi present a fully rounded body surmounted by an alert and perky head.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the extent of the missing portions at the handle, breast, and tail, particularly on the right side (fig. 1b), the Getty vase nevertheless retains very sharp and clear painting, including the added-white paint, which in many other cases is only faintly visible or altogether missing because of its highly fugitive nature. As with other fine duck-askoi of the Clusium Group (see figs. 2 and 3), the Getty vase is richly embellished with patterns of carefully rendered, stylized feathers for its wings and body. The chief and most conspicuous decoration, however, is the winged female figures—one to each side—who fly majestically toward the duck's breast with their legs curiously set in a "swimmer's kick." If the flying female carries objects that can be identified as an alabastron and its dipstick and possibly a sash—as on the left side of the Getty askos (fig. 1a)—then she may be regarded as a Lasa, an important Etruscan minor divinity best associated with the Etruscan goddess Turan (the equivalent of the Greek Aphrodite).<sup>7</sup> Lasae are frequently painted, and more rarely depicted in relief (e.g., fig. 4)<sup>8</sup> on duck-askoi of the Clusium Group, and as a decorative theme, they contrast markedly with equally common duck-askoi decorated with male or female heads in profile (e.g., fig. 5).<sup>9</sup>

On the evidence of the painting in general and the high

Abbreviation:

Harari: M. Harari, *Il "Gruppo Clusium" nella ceramografia etrusca* (Rome, 1980).

1. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.203. Presented by Vasek Polak. Maximum preserved height: 13.5 cm; maximum preserved length: 25 cm; diameter (ring base): 5.0 cm. I wish to thank Jiří Frel for permission to study and publish the Getty duck-askos.

2. J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947), chapter 5, esp. 113–122.

3. Beazley (supra, note 2); C. Albizzati, "Due fabbriche di vasi a figure rosse (Clusium-Volterrae)," *RömMitt* 30 (1915), 129–160, esp. 152.

4. Harari, 47–62.

5. For other proposed Etruscan centers of production of early and late duck-askoi, see M. Del Chiaro, "Late Etruscan 'Duck-Askoi,'" *RA*, 1978, 27–38.

6. M. Del Chiaro, "An Etruscan Red-Figured Duck-Askos," *BClevMus*, April 1976, 108–115; see p. 109; Harari, pl. XXXVI,2; and G.

Pianu, *Ceramiche etrusche a figure rosse* (Rome, 1980), pl. CXII,c.

7. See R. Herbig, *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker* (Mainz, 1965); A. Rallo, *Lasa, Iconografia e Esegisi* (Florence, 1974); and, more recently in regard to Lasae engraved on Etruscan bronze mirrors, C. Sowder in *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors*, N. Thomson de Grummond, ed. (Tallahassee, 1982), 114–115.

8. London, British Museum G 151. The photograph is courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum. Height: 15.6 cm; length: 23.5 cm. See also M. Del Chiaro (supra, note 6), 111, fig. 5, and in *RA*, 1978, 28, fig. 3; and Harari, pls. XXXVI; XXXVII, 2; XXXVIII; and XXXIX.

9. Florence, Museo Archeologico 4232. Height: 13.3 cm. For the opposite side of the askos with near identical profile type, see *StEr* 35 (1957), 480, fig. 4. See also M. Del Chiaro, "An Etruscan Duck-Askos," *MedelhavsMusB* 12 (1977), 62–69; and Harari, pls. XXIV, XXV, XXVI, and XXIV, 1–2. There are examples of duck-askoi attributable to the Clusium Group which are "plain," that is, decorated solely with plumage; for example, see M. Del Chiaro, "Etruscan Vases at San Simeon," *CalifStClAnt* 4 (1971), 120–121, pl. 3, 1–2; also Harari, pl. XXXV,2–3.

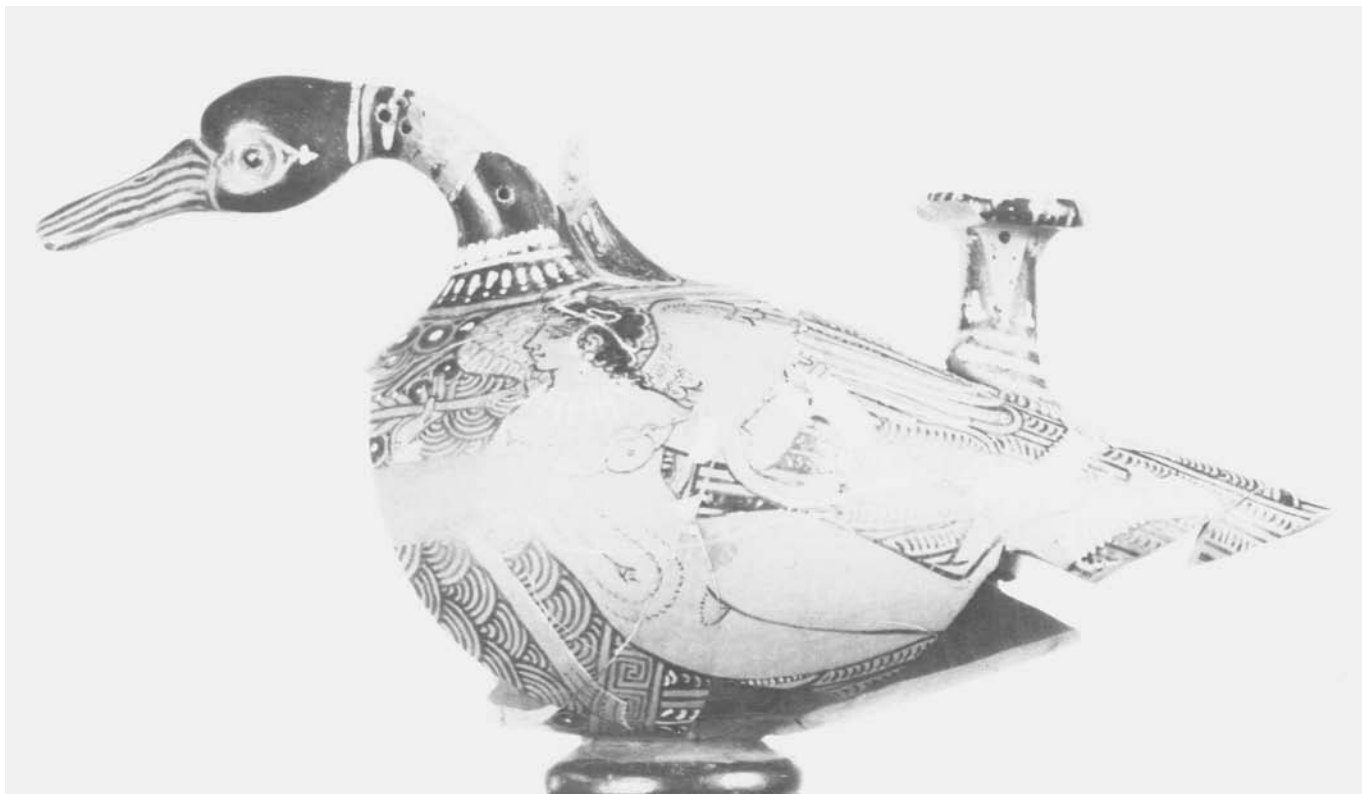


Figure 1a. Duck-askos. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.203.



Figure 1b. Right side of duck-askos, figure 1a. H: 13.8 cm.



Figure 2. Duck-askos. Paris, Musée du Louvre H 100.  
Photo: Courtesy M. Chuzeville.



Figure 3. Duck-askos. Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art 75.23. Photo: Courtesy Arielle Kozloff.



Figure 4. Duck-askos. London, British Museum G 151.  
Photo: Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 5. Duck-askos. Florence, Museo Archeologico 4232. Photo: Courtesy Soprintendenza.

quality of its detailing, the Getty duck-askos must have been greatly admired and regarded as a prize possession; ancient repair holes along the breakage at the duck's neck testify to this high status. The body and wing feathers (plumage) have been executed carefully and precisely; note the overlapping concentric semicircles or crescents of the body feathers in sharp contrast to the pattern of the long plumes where the internal spine of the flight feathers is painted in black or white. This meticulous attention to detail is augmented by the overall application of opaque black glaze paint and the rich added white which is generously employed throughout; for the first rank of wing feathers, for the dots and dashes on various black portions

(the duck's neck, the filler-spout, the bordering series of circles on the upper and lower breast, etc.), for the head fillet and jewelry (diadem, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, earrings), for the shoelaces or thongs, for the alabastron, and to accent the edges of the sash as well as the long flight feathers of the flying females.

Each female wears the same type of necklace (beaded with pendants and droplets) and earring (a button with a single pendant and droplet), but they differ from each other in their coiffures: on her neck one Lasa sports long and wavy hair that is tied round the head with a thin fillet (fig. 1a),<sup>10</sup> while the companion figure wears an elaborate diadem and *sphendone* (cloth snood for containing the hair

10. For both female and male coiffures, the thin fillet painted in white with an antennalike "bow" above the forehead, a loop above the ear, and a trailing end dangling at the ear has parallels on other vases of

the Clusium Group: see Harari, pls. VIII,1; IX; and LIX,3-4. See also G. Pianu (supra, note 6), pl. XLVII.

neatly off the nape of the neck) embroidered with a dotted-rosette motif (fig. 1b).<sup>11</sup> The latter female is further bejeweled by an exceedingly long, beaded necklace worn "bandolier" fashion over the shoulders, across the breasts, and down to the upper thighs—not an unusual mode on vases of the Clusium Group (see fig. 3).<sup>12</sup>

It is quite clear that the Lasa on the Getty duck-askos (fig. 1a), who wears a long sash (*taenia*) stolelike across her back with its trailing ends draped over the upper arms, carries an alabastron in her left hand and a long dipstick in her right. Her flying companion on the opposite side (fig. 1b) supports a metal greave with her right hand,<sup>13</sup> but the crucial portion of the vase which would have depicted her left forearm—and consequently the left hand—is missing. Unfortunately, there remains but a very limited amount of drawing above the breakage which would allow for interpretation of what she held in her left hand. Nonetheless, I believe that this object was a second greave rather than a Thracian helmet, for which there are, however, precedents.<sup>14</sup> Significantly, the bearing of weapons or armor (spear, shield, helmet, greave, cuirass, etc.) as on the Getty vase, supports Harari's contention that such a female figure may be a nereid rather than a Lasa, that is, a nereid—albeit winged<sup>15</sup>—transporting the armor acquired by Thetis for her son Achilles.<sup>16</sup>

There can be little question that in terms of type and decoration the Getty vase ranks among the best examples of duck-askoi, for which four distinctive painters—arbitrarily designated "Painter One" through "Painter Four"—have thus far been individually recognized.<sup>17</sup> Detailed stylistic analysis of the duck-askoi attributed to these four artists has convinced me that the Getty duck-askos cannot be assigned to any of these painters but must be the product of a fifth and hitherto unrecognized hand, that is, "Painter Five." That the vase can be readily assigned to a Clusium Group "workshop" on the evidence of its shape and decoration requires no elaboration here; however, the relationship of the Getty vase to any of the known duck-askoi remains to be determined. The drawing of the Lasa and the winged nereid on the Getty vase does indicate that it stands somewhere between the celebrated duck-askos in the

Louvre by Painter One (fig. 2)<sup>18</sup> and the fine specimen in the Cleveland Museum of Art assigned to Painter Four (fig. 3).<sup>19</sup>

Although I believe it is unnecessary to detail obvious similarities—"Clusium breasts," jewelry (particularly the heavy armlet), general character and attitude of the bodies, and so forth—attention should be given to some specific details that have prompted me to distinguish the work of three different painters for these three duck-askoi (figs. 1–3). It should first be noted that the profile heads of the female figures on the Getty vase are set in the direction of the flight, a feature that contrasts markedly with the turned-back profiles of their counterparts on the Paris and Cleveland askoi. Likewise, the general character of the wings for the flying figures is dissimilar; they are outstretched, one to each side of the females' body, on the Paris and Cleveland vases, whereas they are folded back on the Getty askos. In addition, the differing stylistic details present on the Getty vase (figs. 1a–b) include the proportionately small heads of the females in relation to their thick and ponderous bodies (compare the slender and lithe bodies of their counterparts; figs. 2, 3), and the short hatching to indicate the pubic area and abdominal muscles, which is placed horizontally between the breasts and arranged in two parallel deep and less deep U's to each side and below a central abdominal line, which terminates in a navel configuration wholly unlike that of the Paris and Cleveland women.

Although the drawing of the mouths of the Getty females shows some analogy with that of their counterparts on the Cleveland vase (fig. 3), the profiles of the nose and eye differ. On the Getty vase, the Lasa (fig. 1a) exhibits the same high-laced shoes worn by the women on the Cleveland askos; however, the narrow fillet tied at the ear of the Getty Lasa finds its sole parallel on the Paris vase (fig. 2). These few but significant stylistic references for the Getty, Paris, and Cleveland vases should suffice to illustrate the work of three individual artists and the existence of a fifth and previously unknown painter of Clusium Group duck-askoi active at Chiusi during the second half of the fourth century B.C. or perhaps just after the middle of that century.

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11. Similar *sphendone* types—that is, appearing angular rather than rounded behind the ear, with or without embroidered design—are known on Clusium Group kylikes: see Harari, pls. III,1; VI,1; VIII,1; and IX,1.

12. For Clusium Group vases other than duck-askoi, see Harari, pls. VIII,1 and IX,2.

13. On a duck-askos of the Clusium Group in Florence, see Harari, pl. XXXI,2.

14. Harari, pl. XXXI,1.

15. It was common practice for Etruscan artists engaged in various media to "edit" Greek themes and personages in the light of their own concepts or misconceptions.

16. Harari, 140–141.

17. M. Del Chiaro (supra, note 6), 113.

18. Paris, Musée du Louvre H 100. Height: 11.5 cm; length: 19.5 cm.

19. Cleveland Museum of Art CMA 75.23. Height: 15.3 cm; length: 25 cm.

# Dipping as a Glazing Technique in Antiquity

*Toby Schreiber*

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One of the lesser-used glazing methods in antiquity was dipping, which is the process of immersing a piece of pottery in a container of glaze. Dipping produces a very even coat of glaze compared with application by brushing. Since Greek pieces were fired only once, dipping was done on raw ware, which was either leather-hard or dry clay. Raw ware absorbs water rapidly from the glaze, necessitating a quick, smooth glazing action to prevent cracking or resoftening of the clay. Because the Greeks used one glaze exclusively, it is necessary to examine the properties of that glaze better to understand its use in the dipping process.

In 1942 Theodor Schumann rediscovered the ancient technique of making glaze using the fine colloidal particles of Greek clay. Briefly, the technique of glaze making was as follows: a small, measured amount of clay was mixed with a large, measured amount of peptized water (that is, water mixed with an alkali such as wood ash). This mixture was allowed to settle, with the coarse particles sinking and the finer particles remaining in suspension. The very thin top portion became the ancient Greek glaze, which was used both in a thin solution and in an evaporated, thicker state.

Most Greek vases were glazed with the brushing technique, using both thin and thick glaze, thick particularly in outlining. The painter, using various sizes brushes or other similar tools of application which he dipped into the glaze, painted the designs and background onto the vase. The nature of the decoration on most Greek vases lent itself quite readily to the brushing technique.

On red-figure vases where only one side of the vase was decorated, however, there were occasions when the glazer dipped the undecorated side of the vase directly into a thin solution of glaze. A fine example of this is an Attic squat lekythos in the Getty Museum (fig. 1a, 80.AE.100) of which only the handle and adjacent area were dipped, the remaining portion being decorated by brushing. Time and wear have made it possible to see the delineation between these two glazing techniques, since the dipped portion displays a more even coat (the broken line in the photo indicates the delineation). This piece of pottery was rolled slightly from side to side when it was dipped, as evidenced by the V-shaped (rather than U-shaped) pattern of glaze in the mouth of the vase (fig. 1b). Also, a small portion of

the foot was accidentally immersed in the glaze solution and subsequently cleaned off, perhaps by sponging in a daubing motion so as not to remove any of the raw, unfired clay. This foot was not cleanly sponged, however, as small flecks of glaze are dotted over the dipped portion. Figure 1c shows a comparison of the undipped, clean section of foot far left of center with the dotted, glaze-flecked portion to the right.

The following fourth-century B.C. Campanian pieces in the J. Paul Getty Museum illustrate three different dipping techniques—single dipping, double dipping, and overlapping.

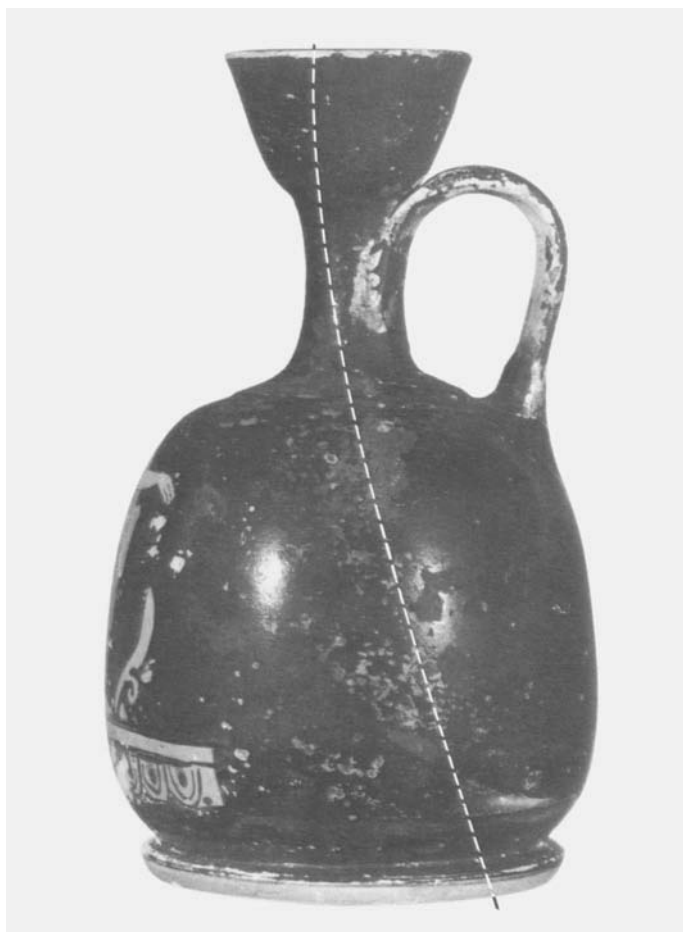
## SINGLE DIPPING

The foot of a duck-askos (fig. 2a, 71.AE.405) was held by all five digits of the glazer's right hand. With his fingertips simultaneously touching the body of the vase, he dipped the entire piece into the container of glaze, stopping short of the underside but covering all five fingertips in the process. When the vase was released, the area covered by the fingers was left unglazed except where it pooled in the center of each fingerprint (fig. 2b–d). Figure 2d is a close-up of the two pools of glaze left by the glazer's little finger. Air pressure prevented the interior of the vase from being glazed.

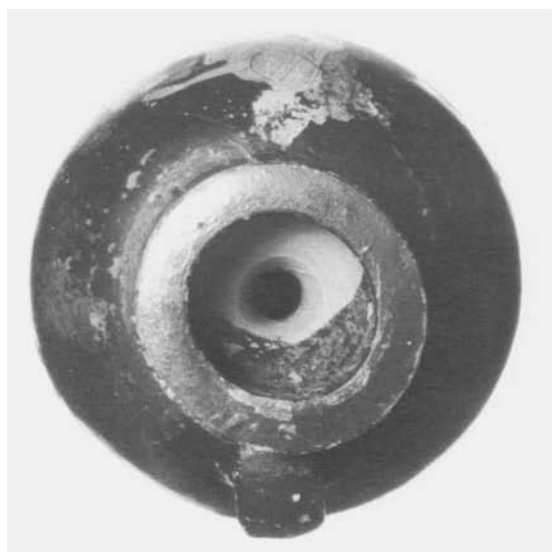
## DOUBLE DIPPING

Double dipping is a glazing process used on broad-mouthed pieces whereby the inverted object is grasped by the foot and pressed down into a container of glaze, and then sharply pulled upward, forcing glaze into the inside of the piece; finally the piece is pushed back into the glaze with a slight shaking motion. This entire process glazes both the inside and outside of a vessel with one continuous, quick movement. For this reason, the double-dipping technique is particularly appropriate for glazing raw wares. This technique works well on vases with a prominent foot, as it facilitates handling the piece during the glazing process. Figure 3a shows this process schematically.

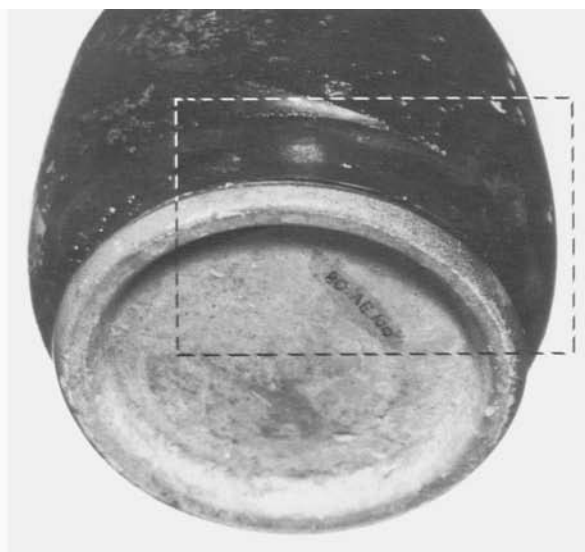
A stemless kylix with a stamped tondo design (fig. 3b, 71.AE.407) is an example of the double dipping technique. To protect the very thin handles on this vessel, the glazing



*Figure 1a.* The undecorated side of an Attic squat lekythos that was dipped into glaze. H: 12.1 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.100.



*Figure 1b.* V-shaped glaze-pattern in mouth of lekythos, figure 1a.

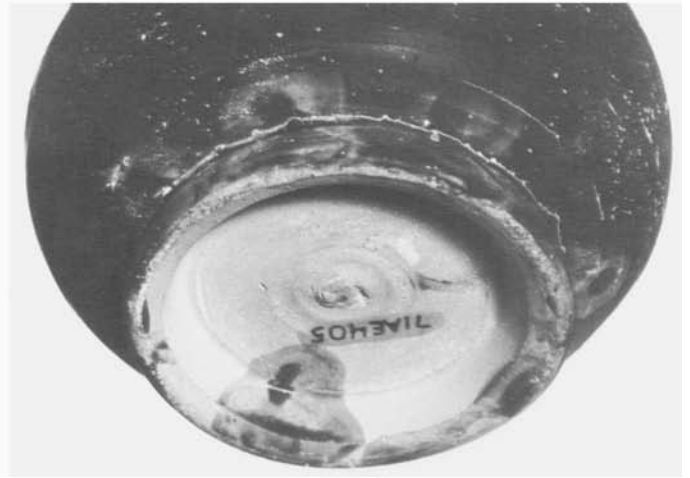


*Figure 1c.* Small flecks of residual glaze on the base of lekythos, figure 1a, where the piece was dipped and subsequently sponged.

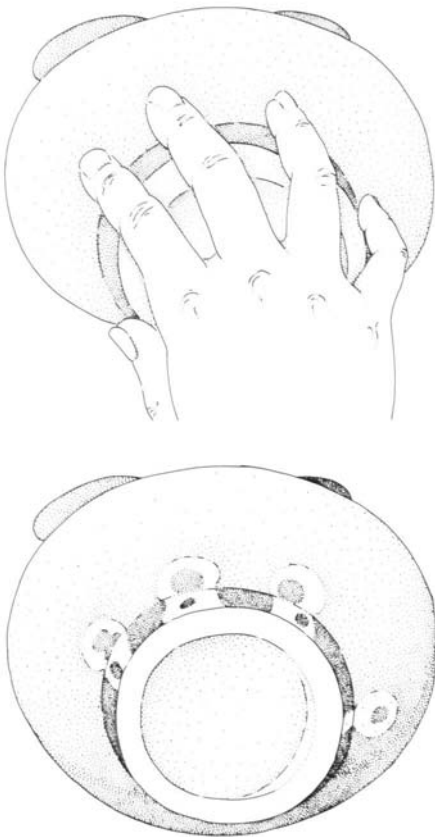




*Figure 2a.* Duck-askos. H: 9.5 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AE.405.



*Figure 2b.* Glazer's fingerprints on the base of duck-askos, figure 2a.



*Figure 2c.* Single dipping of duck-askos, figure 2a. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.



*Figure 2d.* Close-up of glazer's little-fingerprint on duck-askos, figure 2a.



Figure 3a. Double dipping the stemless kylix in figure 3b. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.



Figure 3b. Stemless kylix. Diam. with handles: 17.5 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AE.407.

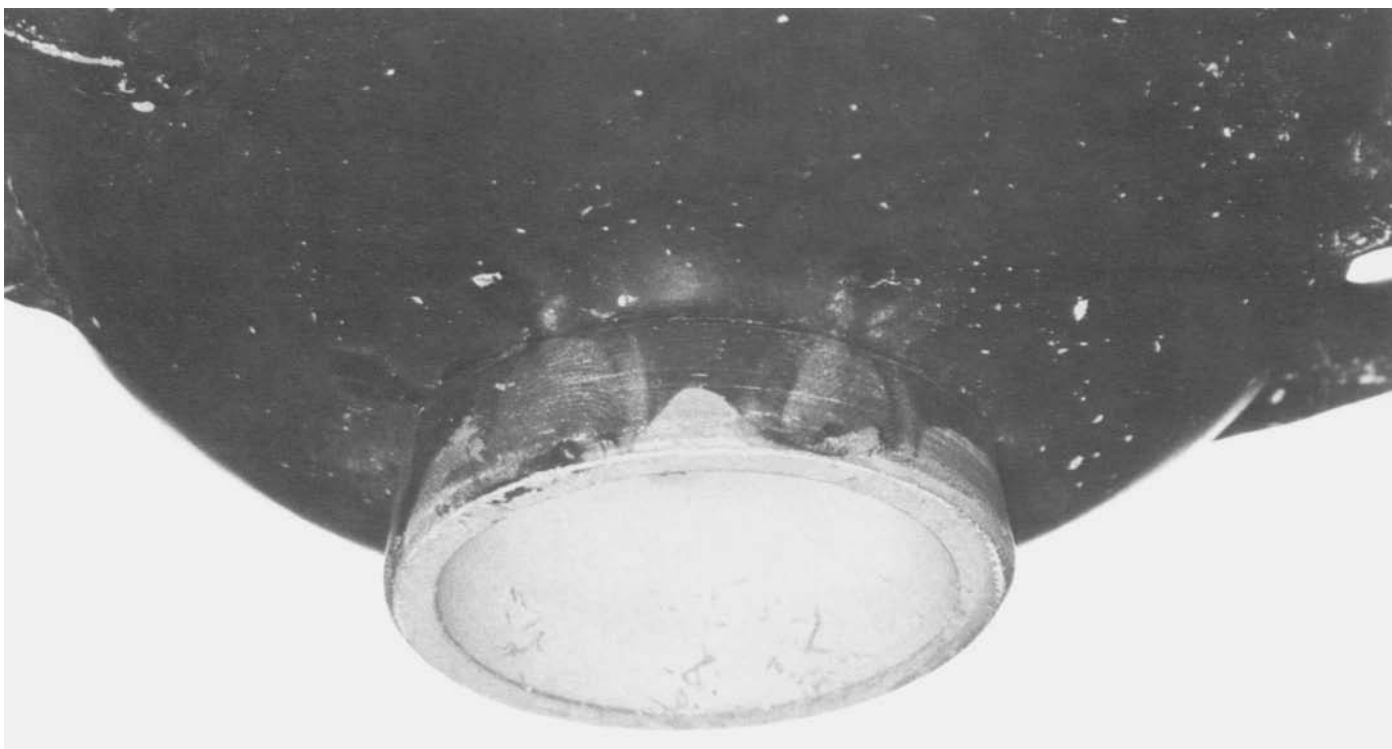
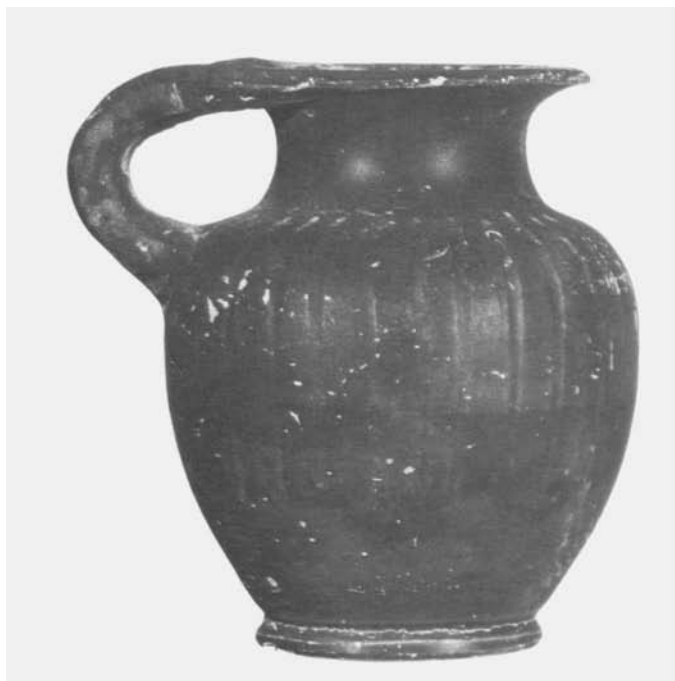


Figure 3c. Uneven glazing surrounding the glazer's middle- and ring-fingerprints on the foot rim of kylix, figure 3b.



*Figure 4a.* Small Campanian pitcher. H: 7.5 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AE.432.



*Figure 4b.* Glaze overlapping on pitcher, figure 4a. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.



*Figure 4c.* Glazed underside of pitcher, figure 4a.

process was done quickly, with the foot being held by the thumb and first three fingers of the glazer's right hand. In this example there is no indication that the exterior and interior were glazed separately, either by brushing or pouring. Only two-thirds of the foot are glazed, and those irregularly, which is typical of the results of the disturbed glaze surface on the second dip. This irregularity can be seen on either side of the middle- and ring-fingerprints in figure 3c.

#### OVERLAPPING

A small Campanian pitcher can be recognized as having been glazed with the overlapping technique (figs. 4a–b, 71.AE.432). Note that the dips overlap just below the mid-section. In this example, the glaze applied was quite thin in comparison with the solutions used on the two pieces

discussed above. The steps involved in the overlapping technique are as follows: first, the glazer grasped the body of the inverted vase with the thumb and first three fingers of his right hand and dipped the top two-thirds of the pitcher into the glaze, thus leaving the area underneath the four fingers unglazed. Then, when the glaze dried, he reversed the piece, holding it by the mouth, and dipped it bottom first into the glaze, overlapping the first dip about one-half inch while simultaneously covering the four unglazed finger marks. The bottom of the pitcher was glazed, an uncommon practice (figure 4c).

While dipping had limited use in antiquity, it was a good technique for glazing a large surface area that was uninterrupted by design, as well as for glazing a number of vases quickly.

Malibu

